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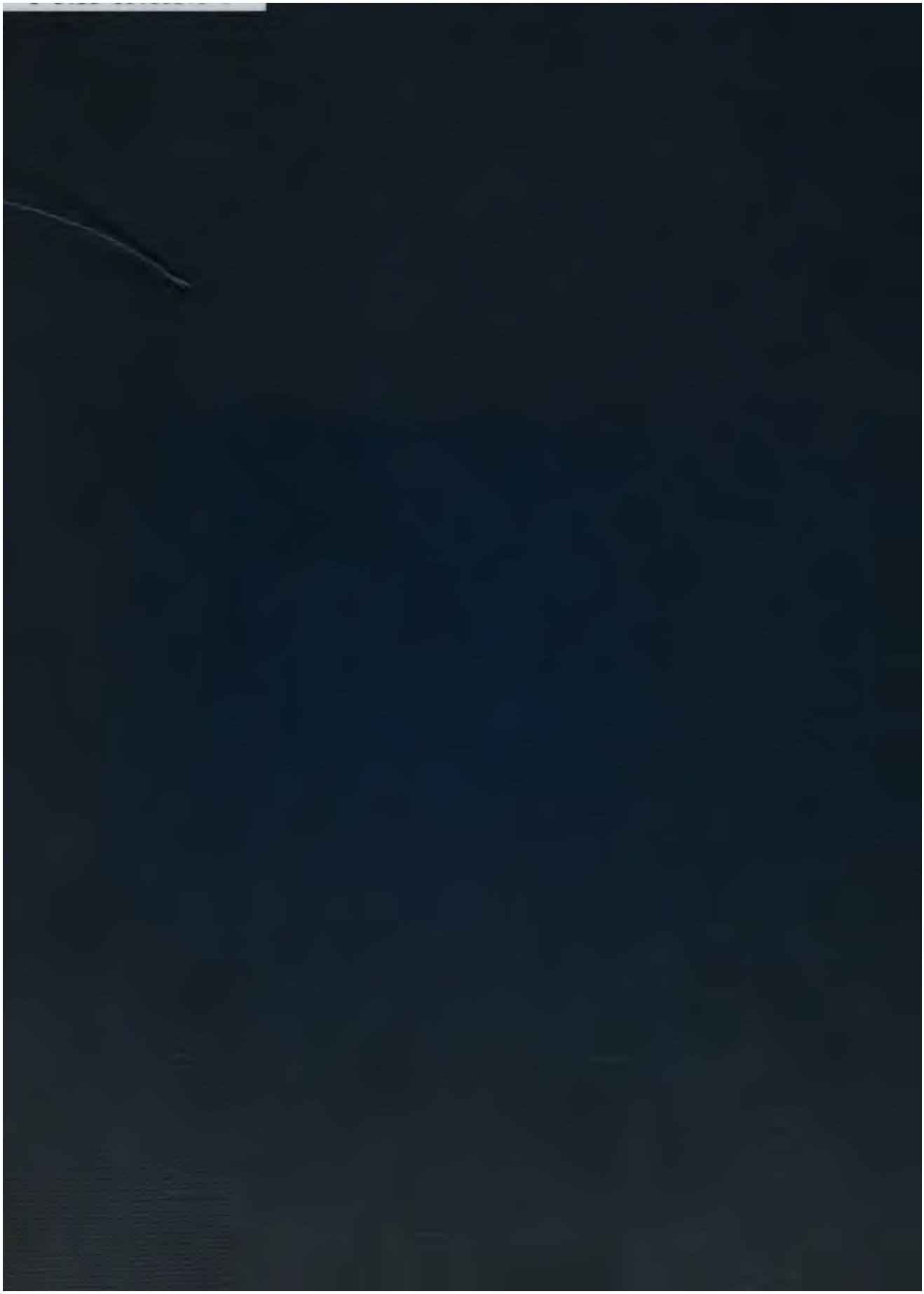

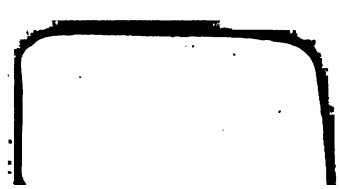

SOME
OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
VINDICATION OF HOMER,
AND OF THE
ANCIENT POETS AND HISTORIANS,
WHO HAVE RECORDED THE
SIEGE AND FALL OF TROY.

Written by I. B. S. MORRITT, Esq.

BY JACOB BRYANT.

Εγω δε τωλεον ελπομαι
Λογον Οδυσσεος, η παθεν,
Δια τον ἀδυεπη γενεσθ' Ὁμηρον.
Επει ψευδεεσσιν ὁι τοτανα γε μαχανας
Σεμνον επεφι τι. Σοφια δε
Κλεπτει παραγοισα μυθοις.

Pindar. Nemea. Σ.

Ἡ τε Ὁμηρε σοφια κλεπτει τον νεν ἡμων, ὡστε τα ψευδη δοκειν ἀληθη ειναι δια χαριν και σεμνοτητα. Scholia.

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THE

PREFACE.

THE Author, of the Work, which I am about to consider, has given to it the title of A Vindication of Homer. *It seems extraordinary, that he should have expended so much labour unnécessarily: for he has taken in hand to vindicate, where there was no grievance; and to maintain what was never denied. Not one syllable is to be found in the Treatise, which he is pleased to oppose, that at all derogates from the character of the Poet: on the contrary, there appears every mark of the highest admiration. To this Vindication another is annexed of the Ancient Poets and Hïstorians, who have recorded the siege and fall of Troy. Among these are Metrodorus, Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus,*

 Pausanias,

Pausanias, Plutarch: Of the Poets, Simonides, Euripides, Lucretius, Ovid: to whom others to a large amount might be added. These are all spoken of by me as Writers of consequence; and to their authority I continually appeal: nor can there be shewn an instance, in which they have been misrepresented. The Author therefore is again at unnecessary trouble to defend, where there is no censure, nor opposition. His zeal and humanity are needless; for he tries to justify, what was never disputed. At the same time it will be worth while, as we proceed, to observe his mode of Vindication; for I fear, that it will be sometimes found very little removed from abuse. But of this I shall say more hereafter.

AN

ANSWER

TO THE

VINDICATION, &c.

IN my Observations upon Mr. MORRITT's Vindication of Homer, I shall not professedly enter into any considerations concerning the War, with which it is connected: but only consider if his strictures are well founded and his conclusions just. He prefaces this Vindication with a remark, which is so abstruse and elaborate, that I am not sure, that I perfectly understand it. It begins in the following manner. P. 1. *It is a misfortune attending on old, and established truths, that whilst they are received in the world, as matters of general notoriety, or undoubted authority, we are contented to take them upon trust: and, not irrationally, give credit to the opinions of those, who had better opportunities than ourselves to judge of their truth or falsehood.* Here is an unlucky circumstance mentioned, and it is not easy to find out in what it consists. We are told, that it is a misfortune attending upon old and established truths, that *they are taken upon trust.* But how can any ancient fact be taken otherwise? Whatever is not intuitively known,

W. Battell.

must

must be received in this manner. It is farther added, that *We are contented to take them upon trust.* But this is a truth too plain to be mentioned. For we must necessarily be contented, where there is no choice. What adds to the misfortune is ſaid to be, that *we, not irrationally, give credit to the opinions of those, who had better opportunities than ourselves to judge of their truth or falsehood.* There seems to me to be here, what we call, a paralogism: for how can it be a misfortune to act rationally: and to give credit to those, who are better informed? In ſhort how can there be loss, or grievance, in admitting evidence upon *undoubted authority?* The Author says, that we are contented to give this aſſent: and well contented we may be: for what more can be desired than moral certainty? The Author adds, that Sceptics have appeared upon this subject before Mr B.—Sed omnes illacrymabiles urgentur, ignotique, longâ nocte jacent (so it should be expressed.) To this I can only say, it is a pity that this mark of contempt was introduced so early; or that it was introduced at all. It is an unfortunate prelude.

P. 3. The Author of the Vindication says, that *he disclaims all ill will to Mr. B.* This would appear very liberal and fair, if he had not immediately subjoined, that *though there is an appearance of candor, yet he* (Mr. B.) *does not seem to have considered the affirmative with indifference.* Hence we find, that, notwithstanding this plausible appearance of candor, Mr. B. has but little share of it, and has viewed things with a very partial eye. After this come some very

severe

severe intimations. *The Reader will judge, whether his* (Mr. B's.) *statements are always perfectly fair. And, if he finds, that interpretations are given by him to classical passages, wholly unwarranted by the context; translations materially differing from their originals; and erroneous transcripts from the originals themselves; he will be apt to smile at the fervour of that zeal, which has stepped forward under the mask of inquiring for literary truth, to defend a favorite Egyptian system.* The Author seems already greatly aggrieved, and betrays much disquietude: and, we fear, some intimations of more ill will than he owns.

> Vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque in faucibus Orci
> Luctus, et ultrices posuere cubilia Curæ.

He indeed sets out with only saying, that *the Reader should consider, and judge, whether the statements of Mr. B. are always perfectly fair.* This is mild and gentle; and like that calm which comes before a storm. But he is afterwards less moderate: and speaks *of passages wholly unwarranted, false translations, erroneous transcripts*; and as we shall find in the course of the Treatise, *wilful perversion* of the truth. So far from smiling at a mistaken zeal, the World must detest a man under such a mask, who is guilty of so much perfidy and baseness; who, whatever his parts may be, has prostituted them to so vile a purpose. But it is to be hoped, that we shall find things more favourable; and that the character of the person alluded to, will not be affected by these severe allegations. As to truth being sacrificed for a favourite Egyptian system, the insinuation is

disingenuous; and no such prejudice is to be found. It is very unworthy the person, from whom it proceeds. It is open to the Reader to judge, whether there be the least truth in this censure: and he may farther consider, whether he can here see, or whether he ever in his life saw,—*Fervour of Zeal under a mask of inquiry, stepping forward to maintain an Egyptian system.* It affords a strange and complex phænomenon, totally past my comprehension.

P. 4. Mr. B. is here charged with unfairness in his version of a passage in Justin Martyr. The Author accordingly says, *Justin is asserting the higher antiquity of Moses: and he does not say, that the Grecians had no history, upon which they could depend; but that they had none, which was accurately detailed, like the records of the Pentateuch.* But, when the Author brings this accusation, and charges *both the version and application of the sentence with unfairness*, (p. 5.) which is a severe censure; why does he not bring the original immediately before the eye of the Reader in the text, and afford himself a better version, and prove wherein Mr. B. has failed? The words of the learned Father are as follow. Αλλως τε ωδε τουτο υμας αγνοειν προσηκει, ὁτε ωδεν Ελλησι προ των Ολυμπιαδων ακριβες ἱστορηται. Ουδ' ἐστι τι συγγραμμα παλαιον Ελληνων η Βαρβαρων σημαινον πραξιν. Just. Mart. p. 16. A. *Besides you ought to be well apprised, that the Grecians have no history, upon which they can depend, antecedent to the Olympiads. They have no written evidence of any antiquity relating either to themselves or any other nation.* This is the true purport of the passage. How then

can

can the Author assert, *that Justin does not say, that the Grecians had no history on which they could depend*; when the words quoted are so plain? As to *the Pentateuch*, and *the records*, of *the Pentateuch detailed*, they are not included here: They are neither mentioned, nor referred to by Justin.

The Author of the Vindication, in treating of the War of Troy, (p. 5.) pronounces the grounds of this war to be adequate. By this, I presume, the Author means, that they afford a sufficient and probable reason for it. He gives a very short epitome of these grounds, which he endeavours to make plausible. *Paris, an Asiatic Prince, came to a Grecian Court, which he insulted by carrying off the Queen of the Country, and a quantity of treasure, and slaves, which were the property of her husband. In this plain history there is nothing incredible.* Undoubtedly nothing, when thus partially represented. But the Author has artfully omitted a number of articles, with which this history is accompanied. However, he says most truly, that *Mr. B. collecting together the miraculous stories related by different Greek Authors,* (and he should have added by Homer himself) *sees nothing on every side, but a mass of impenetrable fiction. The supernatural birth of Helen, the dreams of Hecuba, and the contest of the three Goddesses, are in his opinion so gross, as to impeach the credit of every part of the story.* The Author certainly speaks my mind: and I own, that I think, these fables are very gross, and that the credibility of the history is certainly injured by them; for they are the foundation, upon which that history is built.

But

But as the Author only hints at these extravagances, and does not choose to bring them before the eye of the Reader, it shall be my business, before I proceed farther, to place them in full view: at least such, as are most to the purpose.

The whole of the war depended upon Helen being stolen, and carried from Sparta by Paris. And as we have had of this Personage a very imperfect account given above, I shall beg leave to give a more ample history of him. He was the son of Priam by Hecuba, who when she was with child, of him, dreamed, that she was delivered of a burning torch. This was by the wise men of Troy interpreted, as a fatal prognostic: and they gave out, that the child would one day inflame his Country, and be the ruin of the nation. Upon this the Parents formed an unnatural resolution, that the child, when born, should be exposed to the wild beasts upon Mount Ida. He was accordingly carried, and exposed there. But some Shepherds found him: and he was through their compassion preserved. When he arrived at a state of manhood, he was one day accosted by the God Mercury, who came to his hovel, and presented him with a golden apple. At the same time he told him, that he was to bestow it as a prize upon the most beautiful of the three Goddesses, who attended for his determination. These three Deities were Juno, Pallas, and Venus; who immediately stript themselves before him, and he after a proper attention, adjudged the golden apple to Venus. The Goddess in return, promised that she would bestow upon him the most handsome

handsome woman in the world. After this he quitted his pastoral life; and leaving the Mountain he came to Troy. Here, by what means we know not, he was found out and acknowledged by his Parents: and from a Clown and Mountaineer became the finest Gentleman of the age.

Soon after this he built a fleet of Ships, the last thing that one would have expected, and though *commerce was not then known, and little communication* subsisted *between the Provinces*, as the Author, p. 6, and p. 8. observed: and though not the least reason is given for his going to Sparta, yet to Sparta he went with his fleet of ſhips. At that time Menelaus was King of that City, whose wife was the peerless Helen, whom Paris beguiled and carried off. One would imagine, that when he had ſtolen ſuch a prize, with treaſure to a great amount, that he would have made the beſt of his way homeward; and there ſecured himſelf. No: he took quite a different courſe; and carried his Lady to Egypt: and then after ſome time returned to Troy. Helen is ſaid to have been the daughter of Leda, the wife of Tyndarus, with whom Jupiter had a private intercourſe in the ſhape of a Swan. Hence her mother at a proper time was brought to bed of two eggs; and out of one of theſe Helen and a brother were hatched. When ſhe was as yet very young ſhe became greatly admired for her uncommon beauty, and Tyndarus, ſuſpecting that ſhe would be one day ſtolen, obliged all thoſe, who made any pretenſions, to ſwear, that they would unite their powers to bring her back. This ſhewed a wonderful fore-

caſt,

cast, and at the same time an uncommon affection in Tyndarus for a suppositious and spurious child. These however were the grounds of the Trojan War and the expedition of the Grecians.

We see, that the history of this war is founded upon the most idle and improbable stories, yet the Author of the Vindication insists, that the truth of this history is not hence at all impeached; and this we shall find repeated through his whole Treatise. But it is a mistake: for if the basis be bad, the building must be in danger. And whereas Euripides, and several Grecian Writers differ in some of these essential articles, the Author sets them aside, because they were Poets. But Homer was a Poet, and by the Author, p. 75, supposed to have been of Asia. A Native therefore of Hellas has as much reason to be credited about Helen and Sparta, as a person of the opposite continent. The Author would fain rid himself of these difficulties, and palliate the extravagances of the Poets. But it is impossible. The most idle fiction is in Homer himself, who makes the contest of the Goddesses, and the apple given to Venus, to have been the cause of the war. He speaks of Juno and Pallas as never forgiving it.

Ἀλλ' ἐχον, ὡς σφιν πρωτον απηχθετο Ιλιος ἱρη,
Καὶ Πριαμος, και λαος Αλεξανδρῳ ἑνεκ' ατης.
Ὅς νεικεσσε θεας, ὁτε οἱ μεσσαυλον ἱκοντο,
Τὴν δ' ἡνησ', ἡ οἱ πορε μαχλοσυνην αλεγεινην. Ω. 27.

These articles cannot be cancelled; and if they are on the other hand admitted, the Jerusalem of Tasso, and the Orlando of Ariosto, have

have as good right to be believed. Clelia, Cassandra, and Amadis de Gaul have better pretensions.

The Author tries to excuse these legendary stories throughout his whole Treatise; but in these endeavours he cautiously avoids mentioning many facts, of which he ought to have taken notice. He alludes too partially to many incidents, instead of laying them properly before the Reader. He also omits many arguments and proofs, which are contained in the Treatise, which he opposes; and are there inserted to shew the incredibility of the war.

P. 9. He likewise tries to make the antecedent rape of Helen by Theseus plausible by the like omissions, and forms a history of it from Plutarch, which he so models, as to make it in some degree credible. But he does not take notice of one syllable, that makes against him. He says nothing about her being at that time represented as only seven years old; and her brothers no older, as they were from the same eggs. He forgets that his Author, Plutarch, confesses the obscurity of the times, and the uncertainty of this history; that he owns that Helen was not yet in a ſtate of maturity; that according to some writers, she was not stolen by Theseus; but that it was Idas and Lynceus who carried her away. Plut. Theseus. p. 4. F. All this intelligence, and these contradictions, are passed over by the Author in silence.

The Author had mentioned, p. 7. *the powerful Leaders of Greece: their alliances, and the large confederacy formed at Aulis.* He mentions *Heroes, who asserted the cause of justice; and stood in the place of the Gods.* p. 8. Yet this was at a time, when by his own confession, *Agriculture was neglected, and commerce unknown,* p. 6. And he speaks of people at this day, who bear a strict resemblance to them, for *piracy is frequent among them, little communication between the Provinces; in short every characteristic of the early times, excepting their freedom and their honour.* p. 8. Thus we find honour and freedom supposed in these early times amidst confessed barbarism; and great and distant alliances formed, where there was little or no communication: alliances, that extended from Epirus to Rhodes, and from Rhodes to Thrace p. 7. He farther admits, that in these *honourable* days, *the petty Chiefs* were continually *engaged in a freebooting warfare;* and ready *to assemble,* where there was any prospect of plunder. p. 7. 8. As to their freedom mentioned above, we can say little to it; as we never heard of it, unless it consisted in taking the liberty to rob their next neighbours. Of this freedom mention is often made in Homer. And none were more free, if this were freedom, than those Heroes, who are said *to have asserted the cause of justice, and stood in the place of the Gods.* The Poet describes them, as in a state of rapine before the war, and they all turned Pirates and Marauders afterwards. Strabo. L. 1. p. 83. Of this ample testimony was afforded: but the whole is passed over in silence; and a specious picture of honour is given, as existing in the most rude and barbarous times. But of this I shall say more hereafter.

P. 13. The Author of the Vindication proceeds in saying,---*It seems strange to Mr. B. that an army like that at Platea, should be thought an extraordinary exertion, at a time when Greece abounded both in wealth and men; and yet that she should be able in the rude ages described by Thucydides, to levy and support so extraordinary an armament, as that under Agamemnon. But our astonishment will cease when we reflect that the barbarous, and uncivilised ages of the world have ever furnished armies whose numbers in civilised times are almost deemed fabulous.* He accordingly mentions from Pausanias, that the army of Brennus amounted to 213200 effective men: and adds, *The Cimbri and Teutones, whom Marius conquered, brought into the field against him* 300000 *effective men. The Gauls, who in the time of the Republic sacked and burnt the City of Rome, and the Huns, Goths, and Vandals of later times, assembled troops, which astonish almost to incredulity. The very circumstances of rudeness and barbarism, which form the ground work of Mr. B's argument, are in reality the proofs of its fidelity.* In this argument, we fear, the Author is mistaken. It does not merely depend upon the numbers sent out; but upon the extent of country, where they were collected. Gaul and Germany were large and populous regions. Scandinavia was very extensive, and styled the Northern hive, whence vast colonies issued. And the Scythic region of the Huns we know to have been immense, though the precise extent cannot be determined. What was the Peloponnesus, with the addition of the small provinces above, to these? They bear no proportion. We must not therefore consider only the number of men specified; but the regions, from which they came.

The least of these was many times larger than all Greece. The Author concludes. *If he* (the Reader) *candidly considers all this, I believe, he will hardly acquiesce in Mr. B's conclusion against the probability of the expedition.* We fear, if no better arguments are brought, the Reader will be forced to acquiesce.

P. 22. *Mr. B. now starts another objection, for he asserts, that the Shipping of the Grecians, must by a ten years anchorage, have been rendered totally unfit for service.* We should never strain the words of a Writer beyond their true purport. There is no mention made by Mr. B. of anchorage, nor were the ships at anchor, but drawn upon the beach. Nor does he assert; but says only, that one *would imagine.* But if he had spoken more determinately, how could he be blamed, when he is countenanced by the very words of the Poet?

Και δη δερα σεσηπε νεων, και σπαρτα λελυνται.

The timbers are rotted, and the cordage has lost it's strength. These words the Author unduly suppresses and proceeds, we fear, in a course of argument too lax and inconclusive. He tells us, that Mount Ida abounded in timber, and adds, *Is it necessary to suppose, that the ships were never repaired, because they are never mentioned as undergoing the operation?----At the time, to which Agamemnon alludes the rigging might want repairing. We suppose, before they sailed, it was repaired.* p. 23. But why does he suppose, when there is not the least ground for supposition?

He

He argues from the silence of the Poet, when he speaks most plainly: and when he tells us, that in the tenth year, just before the conclusion of the war, the Ships were very much decayed. And there is no reason to think, as the Author does, that before they sailed, there was any repairing: for the contrary is manifest. In the Odyssea Nestor gives a full account of every material article, that followed, upon the destruction of the City. He says, that they immediately purposed to return. That they first called a Council, to which they came intoxicated, and dissentions ensued. They afterwards separated with much noise and tumult. He intimates farther, that Agamemnon wished to restrain the people in order to offer some propitiatory sacrifices; but he was defeated in his purpose: for the greatest part immediately set sail, and he soon followed. Odyss. Γ. v. 130. There was therefore no time for repairing or rebuilding a thousand Ships.

The Author still proceeds, and says----*From the quotation which Mr. B. gives at the end of this Chapter, he infers that Menelaus used the same ships for eight years after the destruction of Troy.* It is very truly said, for it is so intimated by the Poet in his Odyssea.

Η γαρ πολλα παθων, και πολλ' επαληθεις
Ηγαγομην εν νηυσι, και ογδοατῳ ετει ηλθον. Δ. 81.

To this evidence the Author seems to us to make a strange reply. p. 23. *Homer's words are* εν νηυσι, *in ships: and whether they were never repaired*

repaired or rebuilt is a subject, on which he is totally silent. Why then does the Author make any inference, when he acknowledges that the Poet says not one word to the purpose. Menelaus came with a fleet to Troy, and departed with it. How can we infer, that they were different ships, when no such intimation is afforded? In a note at the bottom of, p. 23. we are told, *In this passage, I can find not one word that proves, what Ships Menelaus possessed, or how they had been built, or how often repaired.* Why then does he, when he can find no intimation, make any supposition and venture upon conjecture unsupported? He is still unwilling to give up the point, and, p. 24. says, *There are many seaboats in England whose duration has been greater than that of any of their* (the Grecians) *ships.* Here is only half the truth said; the rest is not duly suppressed. There may be, what he calls seaboats, as old as Drake's ship was at Deptford. But are there any such, which want no repairs; and, which after seventeen, or even ten, years, are fit for service? We cannot but hesitate about the propriety of this assertion.

P. 24. The Author here says—*We now come to another argument drawn also chiefly from the silence of Homer. We do not find, it is true, any mention of a regular correspondence, which was owing to the circumstances of the times; but, that there was no intercourse at all, cannot be inferred from Homer's not having recorded it.* It has been shewn by Mr. B. that such an inference may be fairly made; and the arguments, which the Author must have read, were not drawn merely from

from the silence of the Poet, but from what he has more than once very plainly signified. The very line quoted by the Author from Mr. B. shews that there had been no correspondence. Ζωειν μαν ετι φασι Μενοιτιον. Iliad. Π. v. 14. *They say, that Menœtius is still alive.* By this we find, that there was a vague report, consequently very uncertain. Had any intelligence been brought to Achilles himself, from his Father, or Friends in Thessaly, he would have spoken with more certainty. He afterwards plainly shews, that he knew nothing about his Father: for he says that he is absolutely in doubt, whether Peleus was living, or departed.

Ηδη γαρ Πηληα γ' οϊμαι η κατα ωαμπαν
Τεθναναι, η ωϑ τυτθον ετι ζωοντ' ακαχησθαι. T. v. 334.

For I should think, that my Father Peleus is either absolutely dead; or barely alive, and under the last afflictions of old age. He appears equally uncertain about the fate of his Son, whom he left in the Island Scyros. I know not, he says,

Ειπϑ ετι ζωει γε Νεοπτολεμος θεοειδης.

Now Scyros, according to the Poet, could not be above two days and a half sail from the coast of Troas. Even Thessaly was not much farther; for Achilles says, that he could reach it in three days. Il. I. v. 363. Scyros lay nearly in the way for any ships, that passed or repassed, to bring intelligence from Greece. Yet no intelligence seems to have been obtained during the whole time (above nine years))

years) that the army was before Troy. This has been urged: and every body must confess, that this is not arguing from silence. It is a fair inference made from the very words of the Poet. And all these words have been before quoted; and these proofs have been brought in full view for the Reader's inspection. But by the Author they are sometimes extenuated; and sometimes totally neglected. And he renews his objections to articles, which have been sufficiently ascertained, as if nothing had been previously said. And we are sorry to say, that this is attended with too much contempt.

P. 24. It had been said, that no intimation is given of any fresh troops being sent to the army before Troy. Upon which he observes —*The other objection of their* (the Grecians) *not being recruited is equally founded on Homer's silence.* And surely it is not founded amiss: for how can we believe a fact, that is not once mentioned, and where there is constant intimation to the contrary? The Author of the Vindication still proceeds, and says,----*We read however of the recruits brought afterwards by Pyrrhus; and allowing the argument in its fullest extent, it will only prove that the army must have been greatly weakened before the tenth year.* Why then did they not send for recruits before that year? and what reason have we to think, that even then they sent for them? If the Author has any account of fresh troops brought by Pyrrhus, (for we recollect none he should mention his authority for it. But he seems to suspect the evidence And whilst he dwells so much upon the silence of Homer, he forgets, what the Poet really has

has said: to which he ought to have attended. Homer speaks very plainly upon this subject; and informs us, that Pyrrhus was concealed in the Island Scyrus; a place of no great extent, which could not have furnished any supply of consequence, nor did it supply any at all. Ulysses tells Achilles in a discourse with him, that he can give him a very good account of his son Neoptolemus, called also Pyrrhus.

Αυτος γαρ μιν εγω κοιλης επι νηος εϊσης
Ηγαγον εκ Σκυρε μετ' εϋκνημιδας Αχαιους. Odyss. Λ. v. 507.

We find, he was fetched from Σκυρος, or Scyros, and brought in a single ship, which had before its complement. What recruits could he bring? None certainly, as is plain from the Poet's words. This is not arguing from silence. The truth is not founded upon what was not said: but upon Homer's clear and positive evidence, with which it is a pity, that the Author was not better acquainted. We are obliged in justice to say so much, and at the same time to warn him of any blind attachment: for we find him at the close saying, that *Troy at last fell only by a well timed stratagem.* From this it appears, that he gives credit to the story of the wooden horse; a fiction, the most idle that ever was devised.

It had been observed in the Treatise, which the Author of the Vindication controverts, that Homer shews great precaution in respect to the Fortification, which the Grecians were said by him to have erected for the security of their Camp, and Fleet. It consisted of a

wall and rampart, with a deep ditch on the outer side; all which was constructed during the secession of Achilles. Iliad. H. v. 435. The Poet was sensible, that such a mound of earth was durable: and if it ever had existed, people in after times would expect to have found it, and the credibility of his narration depended upon its appearance. The Poet therefore to remedy this deficiency, and to take off any untoward arguments from its not existing afterwards, says, that it was demolished by some of the Gods. They brought all the neighbouring rivers to bear upon it. Jupiter also rained from heaven for nine days; and Neptune assisted. By these means this great work was borne down into the sea. Hence Mr. B. concludes, that the whole history of the rampart is a fable. And he forms his opinion from many inconsistent circumstances, which are omitted by the Author, who represents the rampart and ditch as inconsiderable: the work of one day. p. 28. The history of this operation is thus described by the Poet. H. v. 385. The Trojans petitioned for a truce, that they might bury their dead, which was granted. They accordingly went to Ida to cut wood, and the Grecians took the opportunity of going to the same place with the like view. After this they formed their funeral piles, and performed the last rites. This was their mode of proceeding. The Author thinks, that this was compleated in a single day; and hence concludes, that the foss and rampart were finished in the same short interval. This we suspect to be a mistake: for the operations seem to have required a much longer time. This, we think

think, appears afterwards from the petition of Priam to Achilles. In this he mentions that Ida, whence they were to fetch wood was a great way from the City. Οισθα γαρ ως κατα ασυ εελμεθα, τηλοθι δ' υλη Αξεμεν εξ ορεος. Ω. v. 663. He therefore begs a truce of no less than eleven days to bury his dead, and to raise a tomb to Hector. If the distance of Ida from Troy was great; it must have been far more considerable from the Grecian camp: which, if we believe Mr. Chevalier, was at least ten miles from Troy. The funeral rites therefore, and the construction of the foss and rampart, took up a much longer space. The Poet therefore, when he mentions the particular time, when these operations were carrying on, speaks only of the parts of the civil day, in which the people were occupied. They got wood as early as they could: and burnt, and buried their dead at night; afterwards----Ημος δ' οτ' αρ τω ηως, ετι δ' αμφιλυκη νυξ, the next morning, *when it was not yet quite day-light, but still doubtful night*; they returned to the place of sepulture, and raised a tomb over them ---Τυμβον---ἑνα τοιεον. H. v. 435. This, we think, proves, that there was more than one day allotted for the performance of these duties. After this the Poet informs us, that they built the rampart, and the other necessary works: but in what time is not mentioned. We can only make an estimate from the nature and extent of the works, which appear to have been very considerable.

Τημος αρ' αμφι τυρην κριτος εγρετο λαος Αχαιων.
Τυμβον δ' αμφ' αυτην ἑνα τοιεον, εξαγαγοντες

Ακριτον εκ πεδιοιο· τοτι δ' αυτον τειχος εδειμαν,
Πυργους θ' υψηλους, ειλαρ νηων τε και αυτων.
Εν δ' αυτοισι πυλας ενεποιεον ευ αραρυιας,
Οφρα δι' αυταων ιππηλασιη οδος ειη.
Εκτοσθεν δε βαθειαν επ' αυτῳ ταφρον ορυξαν,
Ευρειαν, μεγαλην· εν δε σκολοπας κατεπηξαν. H. v. 434.

We will now present the Reader with Mr. Pope's Version,

Then to secure the Camp, and naval Powers,
They raised embattled Walls with lofty Towers.
From space to space were ample gates around,
For passing chariots; and a trench profound,
Of large extent; and deep in earth below
Strong piles infix'd stood adverse to the foe.
So toil'd the Greeks.——See Homer H. v. 435.

Mr. Pope affords no bad imitation of the original, and we may see from him, that this was no contemptible work. But the Author of the Vindication speaks of it as a very humble performance; which (p. 28.) he proves in the following manner. *Of the size of each of them* (the foss and rampart) *we shall there* (in the 12th. Book,) *find a very sufficient intimation. When the Trojans came to it they stopped, for says he, it was not easy to leap over it; and there was a difficulty in passing through it, since the sides were very steep; and the upper part fenced with palisadoes.* We fear, there were other obstacles; for there seem to have been also palisadoes below in the ditch---Ταφρον ερυξαν---εν δε σκολοπας καταπηξαν. Yet notwithstanding these difficulties, which he

he so plainly allows, he tells us in the next line, that *Hector actually leaped over* the foss. How the Author could possibly be led into this mistake, we cannot imagine. For Homer tells us, that the Hero went over the causeway, which was made for ἱππηλασια, a passage for chariots and horses, and consequently for the foot also, to pass over, when they took the field; and that he seized a vast stone, and went up to the gate of the opposite tower, which with a violent shock he burst open, and then sprang in. The Author should consider that there is a great difference between going under a building, and jumping over a rampart. He thinks otherwise, and says, p. 28.-----*ditch, rampart and palisadoes were within the compass of a desperate leap.* A very desperate leap it must have been: yet he persists, and affirms that Patroclus leaped over them all. And he shews the certainty of it by the following estimation in the same page. *The size of the wall we may discover also from another part of the same book, where we find Sarpedon approaches it, and seizing the battlement with a strong hand, drags it down. It falls, and a breach is made in the wall.* But this does not prove that Patroclus leaped over it. Besides we suspect that there is another mistake: for there was no breach at this time made. Sarpedon pulled down one of the επαλξεις, or pinnæ murorum, one of the battlements; but the wall remained, though deprived of this defence---Τειχος εγυμνωθη, are the Poet's words M. 399. He proceeds in his argument, *The height of it, we see, was little more than that of a man.* We will then, without entering into too nice an inquiry, grant, that it may have been six feet,

or

or six feet and a half high; and we will not dispute the breadth: still this is a great height for a person armed, however strong and active, to have vaulted over. Besides Patroclus was in a chariot with three horses and a charioteer. Il. Π. 149, and 467. and with all these he must have gone over the rampart and ditch. And this ditch the Poet describes, as ευρειαν, μεγαλην, βαθειαν, μεγα εργον. H. 440, 441, 444. And the piles or palisadoes----πυκνας και μεγαλας. The Author therefore of the Vindication, must have been misled by some bad version, to which he applied: for there is nothing in the Poet concerning either Hector or Patroclus leaping; nor was it possible.

The history is as follow, The Trojans, after they had forced their way into the Grecian Camp, made a passage in more than one place through the rampart, and by these openings they afterwards retreated. Patroclus pursued.

Αντικρυ δ' ανα ταφρον υπερθορον ωκεες ιπποι,
Αμβροτοι, ὰς Πηληϊ θεοι δοσαν αγλαα δωρα,
Προσσω ιεμενοι. Π. v. 380.

The immortal Coursers, which the Gods had given as a noble present to his father Peleus, bounded through the trench, αντικρυ, *quite through to the opposite side, continually pressing forwards.* In this trench lay heaps of warriors slain, with their chariots overturned. Π. v. 378. The verb θορω does not necessarily signify *to leap over,* but to prance and bound: which may be effected upon plain ground.

The

The Author has so mean an opinion of the rampart that he thinks, it might without any great difficulty have been destroyed. *It was easily to be obliterated.* p. 27. Why then was the labour of the Gods introduced, and the combination of so many rivers mentioned in order to have it demolished? It is observed in the Treatise concerning Troy, that some of these rivers must have gone retrograde just as they are by Ovid mentioned in a poetical rant.

Xanthe, retro propera, versæque recurrite Lymphæ.

The Author thinks, that this may have happened: for he says---- *As all these rivers however flow into the Propontis or Hellespont above the Rhætean, they may perhaps by Homer be represented as co-operating with the Scamander in causing an inundation at its mouth.* p. 29. There is no occasion to mention *perhaps*. They are plainly represented by the Poet, as joining the Scamander, and making *an inundation at its mouth.* And this junction, and this cooperation, is as contrary to truth and common sense, as to suppose the Severn, Trent, and Humber, making an inundation at the mouth of the Thames. These and many other wonderful articles are either believed or palliated by the Author; for he says, who can suppose, *that Homer would violate probability?* (p. 22.) Yet he has violated probability in numberless instances, as Milton and many other Poets have done since. The Author's great zeal, we fear, prevents his making a proper distinction. A Poet's excellence is not diminished in the eye of the world by his introducing feigned occurrences, or the speciosa miracula mentioned by Horace. They

are often received with the greatest admiration. A battle piece by Raphael, or a landscape designed by Poussin or by Gainsborough, are not esteemed the less because they never existed.

----------Pictoribus atque Poetis
Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas.

It had been said, that Homer was instructed by Phantasia, a woman of Memphis: and it is conjectured, that she was a Priestess of Isis. Upon which the Author observes, that *every Lexicon will inform us, that Phantasia, φαντασια, is a Greek word, derived from φαινω.* But every person of common sense should know, that an ancient Egyptian name could not be of Grecian original, however modified by the Greeks. It was farther said, that Phant and Phont signified at this day a Priestess. To this likewise the Author objects, and says, *Mr. B. diving into all the depths of Coptic lore, finds the word Hant and Hont to be a priest, then by a national prefix forms it into P'Hant.* p. 33. This is very true: and it has the sanction of the learned La Croze, Jablonsky, Kircher, Scholtz, and Woide. This may be new to him; but why does he suppose people ignorant, because he does not know? For every article upon this subject numberless vouchers and proofs are brought, which are set aside unnoticed.

P. 25. The Author of the Vindication seems to be in a continual ferment, and to be dissatisfied with every thing, that is said. In the Treatise upon Troy it had been observed, that there was such a City

in

in Egypt, which was mentioned both by Strabo and by Stephanus Byzantinus. And from their authority the description of it was taken. But in the translation of the several passages great offence has been given. The Author of the Vindication, p. 35. summons the Reader to take particular notice, and says—*I would wish to fix the attention of the Reader upon the manner in which he* (Mr. B.) *has amplified this interesting discovery. He quotes the passage from Strabo, and sets out in his translation of it by making Troy in Egypt a Town which in the original is* κωμη *a village.* The words of Mr. B., in the version alluded to are, *There was a Town or Village--------which Town was named Troy.* Does not the Author know, that the word κωμη signified both a Village, and a Town? Does he not farther know, that it is sometimes applied even to a City? That it signifies a Town we learn from Luke the ix. v. 6. The words διηρχοντο κατα τας κωμας are there rendered---*They went through the Towns,* also v. 12. τας κυκλω κωμας is translated *in the towns round about.* And that it must sometimes have a reference to a City may be known from the word κωμοπολις, Mark i. 38. The persons, who gave the interpretations above were, we believe, men equal in learning to the Author. The learned Albertus in his notes to Hesychius mentions from a Lexicon----κωμαι, αι βραχειαι πολεις. The word therefore did not, as has been wrongly supposed, always signify *a village.* It is farther said (Joshua x. v. 37.) both in the original, and English version, that Joshua smote all their *cities*: this by the Seventy is rendered πασας τας κωμας. In Jeremiah, 49. v. 25,

there is mention made *of the City of praise*: this like the former is rendered κωμη. Strabo himself calls the city in Egypt φρουριον ερυμνον, *a garrison of strength*, which cannot signify a Village. The persons, who have thus rendered this word, were Grecians: and we conceive, that their authority cannot well be disputed. Numberless instances to this purpose may be seen in the Greek Version of the Bible.

P. 35, 36. The Author continues his animadversions, and says, *In the next page Mr. B. calls it* (Troy) *a city in Arabia: then proves it such by a quotation from Stephanus.* It is of no great consequence: but the fact is stated wrongly. Mr. B. does not affirm first, and bring the authority afterwards: but applies at once to the Greek Author mentioned. He adds----*It may be observed, that we have here no translation: but in fact the quotation will not bear this construction. The words of it are,—There is also a Troy in Egypt.* The truth is, that the principal word has been by an oversight omitted: and had the Author consulted the original, he would have found πολις there expressed. The true reading is----Εστι και της Αιγυπτου πολις (Τροια.) The Author not being apprised of this, has by his too great keeness given his supposed opponent an opportunity of having his argument strengthened by this additional evidence.

P. 41. Many exceptions are here made to the Writers applied to in the Treatise, which he opposes. We are sorry to say that we find too much asperity: for he goes so far as to accuse Mr. B. of falsehood and

and absurdity: of which he takes notice in the margin. *Absurdity arising from Mr. Bryant's supposition:* whose insidious art and perversion of the truth are intimated in a note, and his abuse of a passage in Ælian. *The words of Ælian*, says the Author, *concerning Sygrius are*, ὃς λεγεται τον Τρωικον πολεμον πρωτος ἀρσαι. *And Mr. B. by writing*, ὃς πρωτος τον Τρωικον ἠρε πολεμον, *makes Ælian responsible for an assertion, which he only mentions as a prevalent tradition. The Reader will have already found specimens in Mr. B. of this mode of quoting: which I am sorry to observe is extremely unfair.* Undoubtedly nothing can be more unfair, and scandalous. But the Reader perhaps will be led to ask, did Mr. B. write any thing to this purpose? Our answer is, not one syllable. Was he guilty of this duplicity? of this wilful and shameful perversion? Not in the leaſt. He applies to Ælian, but does not quote from him. The words, which the Author attributes to Mr. B. as of Ælian perverted, are those of Eustathius, whose name is mentioned, and referred to in the notes. N. 4. And this notice is given, as plainly, as can be desired. It stands obvious to every eye. Notwithstanding which this allegation of falsehood is subjoined: and it is intimated that specimens of this fraud and artifice must have been observed before. We are sorry to say, that these censures have been urged very indiscretely: as have others before, p. 5. where a like accusation of fraud is exhibited; and without the least ground: the whole arising from the misapprehension of the Accuser.

P. 43. Much had been said about the history of Iphigenia, who was supposed to have been sacrificed at Aulis. The Author asks, *who are the Authors, on whose contradictions Mr. B. lays so great a stress? Different anecdotes concerning Achilles and Iphigenia are differently related by Eusebius, (apud Scaligerum) Ptolemy Heph. apud Photium; Scholia of Apollonius, Philostratus, Tzetzes, Antoninus Liberalis, Hyginus; and the poetical writers, Lucretius, Propertius, Euripides, and Ovid. Obscurity, comparative modernism or poetical license, form the characteristics of the whole list.* To these must be joined Plutarch and Pliny, who speak of the same history: and to them many others might be added, who were of the same antiquity and in the like predicament. The Author sets out, as we see by his Title Page, to vindicate the Poets and Writers of old. But he has certainly mistaken abuse for vindication; and instead of shewing them favour, he has said every thing he could against them. Whoever talks in this way, must be little acquainted with the Writers, of whom he treats. It is to be observed, that he gives the name of anecdotes to articles, of which many have been published above these two thousand years. He also introduces Euripides of the Grecians, and Lucretius of the Romans, without any discrimination, among Writers, whom he styles obscure, or comparatively modern. If so; who were either ancient or excellent of those two nations? How many noble Writers for the same reason must be banished, if these are excluded? As for Euripides being a poet, and using poëtical licence: we have said before that Homer was a poet, and used the like liberties; and Euripides of

Hellas

Hellas is as worthy to be regarded concerning events of his Country, as Homer, or any foreigner. They both dealt largely in fable, et bene sunt comparati. The Author himself, who rejects Euripides, applies at times to Tzetzes, who lived above a thousand years later: and even to Freinshemius, p. 117. He should have considered, that among the Writers, whom he styles comparatively modern, are to be found of the same age persons, to whom we are beholden for large and curious portions of ancient events: which but for them would have been lost. Even Photius who came later, and whom he affects to despise, has laid us on this account under great obligations. What numbers of antecedent historians are quoted in the Parallela of Plutarch? And as he has, like many other Writers, transmitted intelligence to a great amount from the most early Writers, he together with them may be esteemed virtually as of the highest antiquity. The same may be said of Athenæus, Stobæus, Strabo, Pliny, A. Gellius, and many of the learned Fathers; who have afforded much ancient intelligence, and to whom we are greatly indebted.

P. 54, 55. It had been mentioned, in order to shew, that the Heroes in Homer never existed, that their names were often borrowed from circumstances after their death; also, because many of them, are represented as having no real father; but were supposed to be the offspring of lakes, rivers, and nymphs; and those of a higher class were the sons of Jupiter, Mars and Venus; or of some other Deity. To obviate this the Author tells us—*Mr. B. had told us however in the*

page

page before that Homer was engaged in a period of obscurity.-----*Yet he blames him for not possessing the genealogies of his Heroes more than one or two generations.* Nobody deals more than the Author in false attacks, and evasions. We cannot see any appearance of that blame cast on the Poet by Mr. B. which is here unduly intimated. And if there had, it would not have been, because Homer could not carry up his genealogies above one or two generations: but because he could not often carry them up at all; not even one generation. He made many of his Chieftans the immediate sons of Mars, Jupiter, Venus, Thetis, Mercury, and other imaginary Parents. As the names and genealogies of Princes are to be found in the early annals of Egypt, Babylon and Assyria, and in other regions; we might expect to find them here. The Heroes of Homer have therefore been set aside by Mr. B. on account of this deficiency. In opposition to this, the Author gives for an instance to the contrary, the divine birth of Alexander, p. 55. But this is by no means competent. He was never seriously looked upon as the son of Jupiter: nor had he any divine name, or patronymic to that purpose. He is mentioned as the son of Philip by Plutarch, Arrian, and every other writer; and uniformly called Alexander. The Author tries to shew the truth and propriety of these names in Homer, by an instance, which never took place. We can never from the idle notion about Alexander, prove that Sarpedon was the son of Jupiter, or Achilles of Thetis: nor that any person passed for the son of a Deity, that had a true father of his own. One absurdity can never give sanction to another.

P. 59. It had been observed, that among the national Deities from whom Homer borrowed the names of his Heroes, one was Agamemnon, a title of Jupiter. And it was shewn from Staphylus Naucratites, Lycophron, and others, that under this denomination he was worshipped in Sparta, Attica, and at Troy. Lycophron says of Priam before the æra of the Grecians coming there, (for it is said prophetically)—*that the old king should die at the altar of Jupiter Agamemnon.* v. 335. The Author however insists, that this title of Agamemnon related to a man: and he argues in this manner in defence of his notion. *Supposing Agamemnon, however, to have been one of the various names or epithets under which Jupiter was honoured, is it not just as probable, that it should be given to men by the custom of the times, as that Homer in violation of every custom, should adopt a name which could only be given to men.* The sentences are so long, and so confused, that we really do not see precisely the Author's scope: but this may be owing to our want of discernment. As to its being probable that the name might be given to men, it is idle to have recourse to probability; for the thing is certain, and was never disputed. The great Commander of the Grecian army is continually so called by Homer. The Author tries with great labour to prove what was always granted. The great question is, whether it was not previously given to a Deity. Let us adhere to this, and not wander from the question. This is in the notes denied; and he says that the two verses from Lycophron, *which Mr. B. quotes very rightly.----are prophetic*

phetic of the future dignity of the Hero, they cannot be construed into a proof, that Agamemnon had been previously a title of Jupiter. Of all assertions this seems to be the most rash and blind, that was ever made. The hero, of whom he speaks is neither mentioned, nor alluded to in those two verses; the person spoken of is Priam of Troy, whose hoary hairs were to be basely violated.----Ὁ δ' ἀμφὶ τυμβῳ τε Ἀγαμεμνονος δαμεις, κρηπιδα πηγῳ νερθε καλλυνει πολιῳ. He was to be slain at the *altar of Agamemnon Jupiter.* This however is said to relate to quite a different history. *They are,* says the Author, *prophetic of the future dignity of the Hero: they cannot be construed into a proof, that Agamemnon had been previously a title of Jupiter.* Notes to p. 59. Who would think, that there could possibly be such misapprehension? He supposes the death of old king Priam to be prophetic of the future dignity of another king: so that death and dignity are synonymous. And as he insists that this controverted title did not belong to the Deity, he says that the Commentators upon Lycophron, such as Canterus Meursius, and Potter are of his opinion: that is, it was not a title of Jupiter, notes p. 59. First then let us see, what Canterus maintains upon this head. His words are—Agamemnonis nomen Jovi tribuitur—colebatur autem hoc numen Spartæ. p. 12. Let us next observe the opinion of Meursius. p. 62. Reprehendit Lycophronem Lamb. Hortensius; quod Cassandram inducat vaticinantem, moriturum Priamum ad Jovis Agamemnonis aram p. 62. How justly Lycophron is blamed, we shall not here debate. It is certain that the verses

according

according to Meursius relate to Jupiter Agamemnon at Troy quite contrary to the Author's assertion. The last application must be to the learned Potter, who referring to the altar of Agamemnon says--- id est Jovis. p. 140. The Author has appealed to these three judicious Commentators upon Lycophron for a sanction to his notion, who are all decidedly against him. To these may be added Eustathius, as quoted by Potter: δοκει ευλογως παρα Λακωσι Ζευς Αγαμεμνων επιθετικως ειναι. We find that among the Spartans Agamemnon was an epithet of Jupiter. And it has been shewn, that in Attica and at Troy it was used in the same manner.

We have the like evidence from Athenagoras, who informs us, that Helena also had the same worship among the Ilienses. But the Author denies the veracity of this early Father upon the authority of Tzetzes. Now as he has shewn such aversion to modern evidence, how came he above to set aside the testimony not only of this Father, but of Euripides, and Lycophron; and now embrace the opinion of a Person, who was far above a thousand years later than either? After mentioning Tzetzes, p. 59, he says, *The passage from Athenagoras has the same tendency, however perverted by Mr. Bryant. He* (Athenagoras) *is actually summing up the names of the Heroes, and Heroines, who were afterwards worshipped.* Let us observe the passage, to which he refers. Ὁ μεν Ιλιευς Θεον Ἑκτορα λεγει, και την Ἑλενην Ἀδρασειαν επισαμενος προσκυνει. Ὁ δε Λακεδαιμονιος Αγαμεμνονα Δια. p. 277. *Now*, says the Author, notes p. 59. *if Agamemnon was a name of Jupiter, and distinct from the Hero,*

the introduction of him here is totally foreign to the purpose: And the Author (Athenagoras) *sufficiently explains his own meaning by the context.* He certainly does: but we are sorry to say, that this meaning the Author of the Vindication never arrived at. The intention of this learned Father was to address the two Cæsars of his time in favour of the religion, which he professed. And this he performed in a glorious appeal, in which he laid before them, as matter of just complaint, that every Religion, however base, and every Deity, however strange, were tolerated in the Roman Empire, excepting Christ, and Christianity. Among other uncommon Deities was Helena Adrastea, the same as Nemesis, worshipped by the Ilienses; also Jupiter Agamemnon, reverenced both in Ilium and at Sparta; and Hector both at Ilium and Thebes in Bœotia; to which place according to Pausanias his worship was brought from Phrygia. These three were very obscure Divinities, and the rest will be found to be as little known, though of great antiquity. Hence we may perceive, that these, and many others, were ancient and uncommon names of Deities, which Homer borrowed, and gave to his Heroes, and other personages.

The Author mentions (p. 59. notes) that Athenagoras in this passage *is summing up the names of the Heroes and the Heroines that were afterwards* (that is after the ruin of Troy) *worshipped.* But they were antecedent to Troy: and there was no occasion for any deep calculation, or summing up; for including the three preceding, the number amounts to but eight. Among these is Tenes, the founder of Tenedos,

and

and Phylonoë, little known: also Agraulos, Pandrosus, and Erechtheus; none of which had the least concern with the war of Troy, nor are they to be judged by that æra. They seem to have been obscure local Deities; and, according to their history, far antecedent to that war. Erechtheus is said to have been the same as Neptune; and who Tenes was, we learn from Cicero. Tenem apud Tenedios putant esse sanctissimum Deum, ac eorum urbem condidisse. He was antecedent to the City Tenedos; see Cicero Orat. in Verrem prima. C. 19. p. 275, Gronov. Phylonoë was by some supposed to be Proserpine: Aglaurus and Pandrosus, with their sister Herse not here mentioned, were the daughters of Cecrops; who was supposed to have reigned between three and four hundred years before the siege of Troy, and many years even before the foundation of the City. We may therefore be assured, that these persons mentioned by Athenagoras were not the Heroes and Heroines, who were afterwards worshipped. They were according to their history far more early, and had no relation to Troy.

P. 66. The Author tries continually to evade the force of the arguments, which he cannot answer: and often founds his objections upon articles, which were never denied. Metrodorus Lampsacenus was mentioned as a person, who lived very near Troas; and must have been well acquainted with that region. The same was said of Anaxagoras, who resided in the same place; and was a philosopher of great eminence, and had Pericles, Euripides, and Socrates for his disciples. They did not allow, that there was any Grecian invasion, nor any war

of Troy. To this the Author answers with a question: *Were they the most ancient, and does Mr. B's chronology inform him of no writers whose births were prior to the 17th. Olympiad?* We are not here concerned about antiquity: though these persons were sufficiently ancient: but about the opportunities of knowing, which these Writers had from their situation. The Author proceeds---*If Mr. B. will consult his Æschylus, whose antiquity is at least some few years higher; that Author will show him, how common the different traditions were in his time.* (p. 66.) Nobody denies it. The Grecians had universally traditions without number, and they had early Writers: but what is all this to the purpose? Here were two Persons, of high repute in their time, who had the best opportunites of knowledge: and the result was, that they believed the two poems of Homer to have been allegories. This is the point, on which we are to dwell, and not suffer our attention to be taken off by details about antiquity; or by any thing foreign to the subject.

The Author certainly indulges too much in resentment, and obloquy; which he expresses very severely to persons long since departed. *Homer's story*, he says, *has survived---whilst Metrodorus, and Anaxagoras have been consigned to that oblivion from which Mr. B. has raked their memories.* p. 66. This is unnecessarily contemptuous: and very unbecoming. How little must the Author be acquainted with Plato, Cicero, and Laertius, who bear such honourable testimony of these persons? He has taken up two pages in the abuse of Anaxagoras, mentioning some idle

idle and doubtful traditions concerning him: not at all considering his profound philosophy, and celebrated character, which was never *consigned to oblivion*. We have seen above how he has treated the memory of Euripides, Lycophron, Ptolemy Hephæstion, Eusebius, and others; and from several passages to which he applies, he shews, that he did not truly understand them, nor could he be conversant with them. We generally say, that *familiarity breeds contempt*; but we here see the most sovereign contempt with very little acquaintance. This very Author, who sets aside Writers of such excellence, introduces Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis as genuine Greek Writers, and applies for their sanction. p. 77.

P. 67, 68. The Author here speaks of Mr. B. *bringing evidence against him*. But how could he bring evidence against a treatise, which he never saw: or oppose a person, who wrote two years after him? The passage alluded to is, where Herodotus says, that Helen never was at Troy. And if she were not at Troy, the inference drawn from it is, that there could be no expedition upon her account. This is the article to be obviated. But our attention is taken off from the consideration of this argument, to quite a different object. There were some Cyprian verses mentioned by this Historian, in which, as well as in Homer, the flight of Helen with Paris was asserted. Herodotus treats of these for a while, and at last gives them up with some disgust. Upon this, the Author of the Vindication makes the following remarks, p. 67. *Herodotus having long argued against this fact (the flight*

flight of Helen) and against the authenticity of some Cyprian verses which mention it; having endeavoured as much as he could to illustrate Homer, reverting to his history, he says, adieu now to Homer and the Cyprian verses. These words I will just observe are translated by Mr. B.---Away with them together, a long farewell to each, both to Homer and the Cyprian verses. This specimen will put the reader on his guard against Mr. B's translations. The Author does not comprehend the meaning of the Historian, and passes over too hastily the article to be decided, that *Helen never was at Troy.* Instead of this, he enters into a cavil about words; in which he is totally mistaken. He admonishes the reader here, as in other places, to be upon his guard against Mr. B. and places him in such a light, that a stranger must suppose him to be a person of the greatest falsehood. And all this resentment is shewn, because Mr. B. has given a paraphrastical interpretation, instead of a literal version: as such a version would not express the meaning and disposition of the Historian.-----Ὁμηρος μεν νυν και τα Κυπρια επεα χαιρετω. *Away with them: I will have nothing more to do with them.* The same manner of expression is in many instances to be observed, though it has been said by others, as well as the Author, that it is never to be found. Take the following example.

Ελπις, και συ τυχη, μεγαν χαιρετε, τον λιμεν' ευρον·
Ουδεν εμοι χ' υμιν, παιζετε τους μετ' εμε·

Away with ye, fond Hope, and Fortune: I have gained a safe harbour: I have nothing more to do with ye. Sport with others for the future, who

may

may come after me. This is the true purport which a literal translation cannot express. Χαιρε and χαιρετω, are not always used, as a compliment, and a benediction, as some have insisted, but quite the reverse. What says the learned Stephanus? Porro et iis χαιρειν dicimus, quos in malam rem abire jubemus: quos in malam crucem relegamus; seu quos cum contemptu relinquimus. This objection therefore originated from a mistake. In the mean time our attention has been drawn off from the true object, viz. Helen being carried to Troy, which Herodotus denied: and all the evidence, which had been afforded the Author to that purpose, is unduly omitted.

P. 69. In this place, and many others, the Author would maintain the certainty of the war from its being universally credited, and credited by persons of the greatest learning and knowledge. He mentions (p. 122.) Hesiod, Herodotus, Thucydides and Diodorus. To these he might have added, Solon, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Plato, Socrates, Xenophon, Aristotle, and others without number, who were the most brilliant luminaries of Greece. We may therefore allow this belief in the most enlightened part of the world. But at the same time we must consider, that the wisest men have often the greatest weaknesses. These very persons believed in Satyrs, Nymphs, and Centaurs; also in Gods of the woods and rivers: and in monstrous Deities of the Deep. They were slaves to the basest rites; and maintained the vilest Theology that ever was adopted. They were devoted to Augury and Aruspicy; and dreaded phantoms and furies.

Even

Even Homer, that *accurate describer of manners*, who, it is said, *could not be guilty of any violation of truth*, maintained that the horses of Achilles could speak; that Diana was boxed and beaten by Juno; that Jupiter was deceived by an owl, and dozed upon Mount Ida; lastly, that Mars and Venus were caught in bed together by Vulcan, and ensnared in a net: cum multis aliis.

The Athenians and their neighbours looked up to Homer, and his writings, as numberless nations do to Mahomet and his Koran. If extent of faith, and universality among any people can determine the truth, it must be allowed to the Mahommedans, above all others. Their religion is established in a large portion of Europe; and through the whole of Asia Minor: and it occupies all Arabia, and Persia, and is extended to some of the farthest islands in the east. To these must be added a large share of Africa: to all which Hellas of old if compared, would not amount to the fiftieth part. Their faith is extensive and absolute, yet founded in errour. But it may be urged, that these nations are base and illiterate, and no just comparison can be formed. Let us then consider Europe, the most enlightened part of the world. We shall here find articles maintained universally in some nations, which are by many thought to be repugnant both to reason and truth. Among those, who have held these tenets, have been some of the most learned persons, that ever graced the world. Thucydides therefore, and the Sages of Greece, however knowing and excellent, were still liable to err, and to believe a fable.

P. 75.

P. 75. The Author takes notice that Mr. B. *for several pages contends strongly, that Homer was not an Asiatic, but a native of Greece, probably of Ithaca.* The argument was certainly extended through many pages, but it seems wrong to say, that he contends strongly; for he only lays his evidence before the Reader, and leaves to him to conclude: for he does not presume to be certain. This evidence was very curious, and collected with much labour from a variety of ancient Writers. But the whole goes for nothing with the Author, he never concerns himself about the authorities produced; but has omitted them all, and then too superciliously tells us---*mere conjecture requires no answer. I have waved the contest.* p. 76. The strongest proofs are to him mere fancy, and demonstration itself a delirium, or dream. What is extraordinary, he immediately after this pays Mr. B. a compliment and says, p. 76. that *he has the pleasure of agreeing with him in some points, and not knowing any real authority, that either contradicts, or confirms one tittle of his assertions.* This is doing Mr. B. great honour: yet upon consideration it appears to be a blind concession. For why does he so continually dissent from Mr. B. where there is accumulated proof; and now agree with him, when he confesses, *that he does not know any real authority to confirm one tittle of what he asserts?*

P. 12. He observes, that Mr. B. has made a wrong calculation of the Grecian forces at the battle of Platæa: and that they did not consist, as he has stated them, of 72500 men; but of 73200. Mr. B.

is obliged to him for this intimation: and if any opportunity should be afforded, he will avail himself of this intelligence. But if we allow the Grecians both with light armed, and unarmed troops, to have amounted in the whole to 110,000, as they are stated by Herodotus, yet these will never countenance an hundred thousand, some centuries before at the supposed æra of Troy. It is difficult to assent to many articles, which the Author upon this occasion lays down as certain. As I have before said, I cannot believe, that grand alliances were formed, where there *was little or no connexion*: that freedom subsisted, where there was no police, nor security: that a distant correspondence was maintained, when there *was no commerce:* and that honour prevailed, where *every petty chief was a thief and marauder.* Plutarch tells us, that when Theseus arrived at a state of manhood, which was about the time of Helen's birth, Greece swarmed with banditti. Ουδεν μερος καθαρον και ακινδυνον υπο ληςων, και κακουργων. Theseus, p. 3. *No part of it was exempt, and safe, from thieves and villains:* of whom he gives a fearful account. p. 3. The like is to be found in Thucydides. L. 1. C. 2. p. 2. who says, there was no commerce, nor correspondence carried on either by sea or land, without dread and danger. Yet the Author supposes, that this was an æra of general liberty. As to the *Godlike Chiefs, the Men of Justice,* of whom he has before treated, we may suppose Hercules, Pirithous, and Theseus, to have been of that order. Yet notwithstanding their specious character on one hand, they are on the other represented as men of violence, and guilty of

rapes

rapes and rapine. Theseus and his comrade are supposed to have been condemned to prison, and to everlasting durance after repeated outrages of this sort. Their first intercourse happened on account of a depredation; when a herd of Cattle was stolen, which one had purloined from the other. Plutarch. p. 14. The characters of these pretended Heroes, these *Men of Justice*, are always upon the extreme. They are one minute represented as Demi-gods, and the next as noxious Demons: and the latter character seems to prevail, like the Oak in the Poet---

Quantum vertice ad auras
Æthereas, tantum radice ad Tartara, tendunt.

Thucydides takes notice, that robbery and plunder were common, and not discouraged. L. 1. C. 5. p. 5. Neleus, the father of Nestor, made the price of his daughter's nuptials the flocks and herds of his next neighbour; which he, who would win her, was to steal. Odyss. Λ. v. 288. Pausanias. L. 4. p. 374. He was in his turn robbed; and his son Nestor made ample reprisals, of which he gives an account. Il. Λ. v. 676. These deeds of misrule and injustice were so common, that Ulysses is made to ask the *Godlike* Agamemnon in the shades below, whether he did not loose his life in acts of piracy and sheep-stealing? Odyss. Λ. v. 401. Agamemnon puts the same question to Amphimedon. How came you, and your companions to loose your lives? Were ye overwhelmed in a tempest: or were ye slain in an attempt to plunder other people's sheep and cattle? Odyss. Ω. v. 112. Their God Mercury served for an example: who was said to have been born in the morning; to have played a tune upon the harp at

noon, and to have stolen a herd of oxen in the evening. Ἑσπεριος βους κλεψεν. Hymn. to Merc. v. 17. Such were the customs, and such the principles, of these times. For if the Deity was a rogue, what must have been his votaries? The Author has mistaken Homer, and thought, that the pictures drawn by him were copies of those times. But the characters afforded by the Poet were formed by his own exalted genius, which is said to have raised men to Gods. He exceeded Nature, and we may use the words of Thucydides upon another occasion---ην εικος επι το μειζον μεν ποιητην οντα κοσμησαι. L. 1. C. 10. p. 10. But though he dresses up his chief Heroes in a complete and shining panoply; yet we may sometimes descry strong marks of primitive ferity and rudeness.

The Author, to shew how easily such a great armament might be formed, tells us, p. 6. that *Greece at this time swarmed with warlike adventurers, and whilst Agriculture was neglected, and Commerce unknown, her bands of warriors, led by enterprising chieftains, were ever ready to assemble, when the standard of war was erected.* This is a specious picture, but whence was it copied? Nobody knows. Yet he assures us, that the same spirit exists in modern Greece, as prevailed in the ancient. *Greece, at this moment, swarms with adventurous hordes who are ever ready to join in the wars of the Turkish Governors, and are frequently employed in the heart of Asia, on whatever side the greatest pay is to be acquired, or the greatest plunder is to be expected.* He adds some other circumstances, which he thinks similar, and says, (p. 8.)

this

this analogy is unanswerable. I fear it will be found upon inquiry, that no analogy subsists between them; and that he is mistaken in his notions of both. I never heard of any *hordes of Grecians*, nor can I believe, that they *are so eager to join in Turkish wars*. It is not credible, that Chriſtians should so readily list under the banner of Mahomet. I must have some good authority, before I credit the assertion: but I have never met with any; and the Author affords none. He seems to be equally mistaken in his account of ancient Greece; which he embellishes greatly. We have seen that he speaks of bands of warriors, and enterprising Chieftans, who were ready to unite at the display of a standard. But how does he know this, when there is not the least intimation given? On the contrary, the country is represented as divided into small districts, and abounding with banditti, who were always in a state of hostility, and making depredations upon one another. Thucyd. L. 1. C. 5. p. 5. There was no union in those times; no common cause. Προ των Τρωικων ουδεν φαινεται πωτερον κοινη εργασαμενη ἡ Ελλας. *The Grecians never engaged in any common cause before the war of Troy*. ibid. p. 5. Nor even then; for the reasons mentioned by Plutarch, and this very Historian; however they may credit the war. The Author of the Vindication sets off these times of misrule to the best advantage; and makes use of this luxuriant colouring too often in the course of his work. He tries also to ascertain the Poet's veracity by the Poet's own evidence. It was thought not credible, that so many persons should

engage

engage in a confederacy and war, who had no connection, and had received no injury. To this the Author replies, by saying: *to this confederacy.-----a number of warriors acceded, who were by no means personally injured; and who had little or no connexion with Menelaus*, p. 7. Achilles is particularly mentioned. He here makes use of the very thing controverted, for a decisive proof in its favour; and begs the question. But this is not sufficiently logical, as I believe most will agree.

I had omitted an article of reprehension which the Author here brings, in consequence of an argument, which I had advanced. *It was a long time, he* (Mr. B.) *says, before the Greeks ventured to traverse the Ægean, and quotes Libanius to prove, that they never ventured farther than Delos.* And in the Notes he adds: *Libanius was tutor to Julian; and his authority therefore respecting the state of early Greece, is entitled to very little attention, (if any) when controverted by the ancient historians.* p. 16. The Author, as I have said before, never considers, that Writers like Libanius, had access to many ancient histories, which are now lost: and they deserve far more regard, than he is willing to allow. The Persons, who, as he intimates, controvert the words of Libanius, I know not: nor does the Author produce a single instance, ancient or modern. Let us then see, by whom Libanius is supported. It is by the evidence of Herodotus, upon which the argument of Mr B was chiefly founded. The words of this Historian were introduced by Mr. B. immediately subsequent to the former, and ought to have been taken notice of at the same time. But they are very improperly omitted;

ted; and the truth is for a while suspended, that the reader may be left to believe, that Libanius was the only Writer, to whom Mr. B. appealed. After a delay of two pages, the Author mentions the passage in Herodotus, which he introduces in the following manner, p. 18. *But he* (Mr. B.) *strengthens his argument still farther by a quotation from Herodotus, who says, that a fleet from Argolis and Sparta, refused in the Persian war to sail beyond Delos. Mr. B. it will be observed in this passage, puts a little dash where a part of the sentence is omitted.* The intention of Mr. B. has been above mentioned. This was to shew, that the Grecians, and particularly the Lacedæmonians, were in these times very little skilled in the art of navigation. He therefore very innocently omitted, what he thought not at all either to his purpose, or against it. And of this omission he gave fair notice: not thinking that any exception could by any reasonable person be made. The Author proceeds-----*But the Reader should be informed, that the rest of it runs thus. All beyond seemed full of danger; as they had little knowledge of those parts, which appeared to them to be full of enemies. Their fears then proceeded from the dread of falling in with a superior fleet.* How can the Author, when he imputes to Mr. B. a deficiency, be himself so defective, and untrue in his representation? I have said, that the circumstance to be proved was the insufficiency of the Grecians in navigation. And to evade this, the Author first cavils about *a dash*: and then tries to extenuate and pervert the true meaning of the Historian. The passage, which the Author says, *runs thus*, is attended with some

some material difference, and will be found to be as follows. *When the Ionians solicited the Helladians to pass over to their coast, the utmost, that they could obtain, was to get them as far as Delos. All beyond seemed full of danger, as they had little knowledge of those parts, and the whole seemed to be filled with the enemies forces. An expedition as far as Samos appeared to them a voyage to the Pillars of Hercules.* Herod. L. 8. C. 132. p. 682. Here it is to be observed, that when the Author says in his version, that *the Grecians refused to sail beyond Delos*, the Historian tells us, Οι Ιωνες προηγαγον αυτες μογις μεχρι Δηλε. They had much ado to get them so far. Some other articles he has either extenuated or omitted, in order to evade their force. He sets aside the chief reason, mentioned by Herodotus, for the backwardness of the Grecians, and would persuade us, that it was owing intirely to another cause. *Their fears then, he says, proceeded from the dread of falling in with a superior fleet.* Not a word of any fleet is mentioned by the Historian, nor does the word στρατια necessarily signify a fleet. Whatever additional fears they may have had upon the occasion, I shall not dispute. It is intimated, that they were rather imaginary, by the word εδοκεε. The first and true cause of their not venturing farther than Delos, is said expressly to have arisen from their not being acquainted with those parts---α των χωρων εσοι εμπειροισι. Then come the words---στρατιης τε παντα πλεα εδοκεε ειναι, *and all places seemed to be filled with the enemies forces.* These subsequent fears could not cancel their antecedent ignorance. We have seen, that it was farther said, that

they

they looked upon an expedition to the island Samos as a voyage to the Atlantic: which the Author unduly omits. These articles he had before his eyes; and accuses Mr. B. of omitting, what did not seem at all necessary to be mentioned: at the same time he is himself guilty of omissions of consequence; and of perverting the Historian's meaning.

After all, if the Author's objection was better founded, it would be of little consequence, excepting only, that it draws off the attention of the Reader from the main object to be considered. For let the cause be what it may, either the ignorance, or the fears, of the Grecians, still we are told, that they ventured not beyond Delos; that they were unacquainted with the opposite coast; and not experienced in the art of navigation. If then they knew so little in the time of the Persian war, there is no reason to think, that they were more knowing in times of far higher antiquity.

PART THE SECOND.

P. 78. The Author of the Vindication has shewn uncommon asperity against the person, whom he opposes, and speaks repeatedly of his futility and absurdity; and this contemptuous behaviour pervades his whole Treatise. He therefore cannot be offended, if on the other hand some mention should be made of his prudence. His purpose in this Second Part of his work, is to shew the situation of Troy; and this, if it can be ascertained, must be best effected by the places in its vicinity, which had a connexion with it. They must certainly afford to one another reciprocal light. They are mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, Antonĩnus, and occasionally by others: and when compared, may afford the light mentioned. We should therefore expect, that the Author, and his Friend, in their Maps, would avail themselves of these advantages. Without these helps we may form numberless imaginary positions: and if such evidence be neglected, there will be nothing to confute them. I say then, that we should expect, that these Gentlemen would introduce the chief Cities and Towns, mentioned by Homer, in this part of the world. But this is not done. For they have prudently omitted most of the ancient places in the region of Troas, as they could not be made to correspond

pond with the situation, which they have given to the City. Abydus to the north, and Lectum to the south, are not to be found in their maps, though they were the boundaries of the Region, with which the Poet was principally concerned. From the distance of these two places proper measurement might be made of the situation of others. On this account they are prudently left out. The Author has not mentioned, in his map, Dardanum, or Dardania: nor Ilium, Pagus Iliensium, Chryse, Achæum, Portus Archivorum, Colone, Cebrene, Scepsis, or Hamaxitus. Even Ida is omitted, though so necessary to be known. However widely it may have been extended, the name of it never occurs. Cotylus and Gargarus are in like manner excluded. It is said by Virgil,-----Est in conspectu Tenedos; which notice is quite contrary to the Author's opinion: and the Island in consequence of it is not suffered to appear. He saw, that it was situated low towards the south, and nearly opposite to the City Troas; and far removed from Bounarbachi, and consequently would ruin his plan, if admitted. In the room of all these ancient places, he has brought others of modern date, which draw off the attention of the unwary Reader. We are accordingly treated with Tchiblack, Jeni Cheyr, Erkissiqui, Jeni Keu, Dahri, Feranli, and Bos, with which we are not at all concerned in the inquiry. He might as well have inserted Demarary, Issiquibo, and Nantucket; they would have afforded just as much emolument to the Reader. In the execution of this work, he follows Mr. Chevalier, *whose map*, he says, *be found as accurate, as*

that of Mr. B. was erroneous. But of these supposed mistakes not one single instance is produced. He however acknowledges, that *in some trifles he differs even* from his Friend. This difference in respect to one article, is by no means *trifling*; but of great consequence. It relates to the island Tenedos above mentioned; which by most writers was supposed to have been within view of Troy, and lay opposite to the coast of Troas. This Mr. Chevalier had introduced: but I have shewn that the Author, for particular reasons, omits it.

The Author having with much art and industry got rid of this obstacle, now ventures to prosecute his scheme; and places the City Troy some miles inland, upon the hill Bounarbachi, one of the eminences of ancient Ida; and so acknowledged by Mr. Chevalier. But here an unexpected difficulty arose: for looking more accurately into the Treatise, which he opposed, he found that Troy was situated in a plain, εν πεδιῳ: whereas he owns, that the village of Bounarbachi stands above the plain, p. 96. It is *a place,* says Chevalier (p. 30.) *on every side encompassed with precipices.* About a mile beyond the village this Traveller places in his Map, *Troja Vetus:* and it is repeated in another Map (p. 115.) where he places Troja at large. The Author of the Vindication says himself—*We ascended the opposite hill to Bounarbachi.* (p. 91.) How could he possibly suppose a City, situated on these heights, to be in a plain? He has hampered himself past remedy: and we may say—

Verte

Verte omnes tete in facies, et contrahe quicquid
Sive animis, sive arte vales.

What expedient can be found? The Author thinks that he has discovered one. He accordingly says, that the City indeed was in the plain: but the Citadel stood on the top of the hill. (p. 93.) But his evasion will not serve. He himself has placed the City high up beyond the Village: and the Scæan Gate (how justly I will not say) is placed upon the hill. Here is *Trojæ Situs*, as determined under his own hand in his Map, and in his Plate, p. 92. and he represents himself as an eye witness. As he is so very severe, he should have been more cautious: for this contrariety must be deemed very reprehensible. Had the person, whom he attacks, been guilty of such an instance of inconsistency, he would have pronounced---Ψευδεσθαι οδοιπορον ανδρα, and have given him no quarter.

He however tries to strengthen his argument (p. 94.) by a line in Homer.

----------ενθα μαλιστα
Αμβατος εστι πτολις, και επιδρομον επλετο τειχος.

The words---επιδρομον τειχος he renders---*The wall was on a level plain:* and immediately in the very next line tells us, that *the wall stood upon uneven and sloping ground.* p. 94.

Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?

After all, what can be more strange, than to suppose, that the words τειχος επιδρομον, by which is meant any thing *pervious*, and easily *overrun*,

overrun, and in this place easily *ascended*, signified a flat? He himself, suspecting his mistake, renders the words τειχος επιδρομον afterwards----*where the foot of the wall was easily accessible*. p. 94. But how can the same words signify at one time *a wall in a level plain*: and at another, *the foot of a wall easily accessible?* Though he has tried with much art and industry, to rid himself of the difficulties, into which his own evidence has brought him, yet hæret lateri lethalis arundo. He cannot free himself from it. Though he has at last brought Troy down to the plain, and leaves only the Citadel on the mountain: yet he confutes himself in an instant; and in his plate of the City, p. 92, he reinstates it, and places it, as appears on a very high eminence; which he acknowledges to be Bounarbachi. There was another article, which he did not consider, when he placed Troy at, or towards, the foot of the hill. Homer does not say only, that it was in the plain of Ida, but it was τηλοθι, *a great way from* Mount Ida: (Ω. 662.) with which, after all his trouble, his position does not agree.

He assures us that the situation, which he has given to Troy, accords in every article, and amounts to a demonstration. Yet it does not coincide in any one instance. The distance from the camp is far too great, which has been noticed: but that notice is past over without any just reply. He says, p. 109. that *the distance from the sources of the Scamander*, (so he calls some little fountains below Bounarbachi) *to the Sigæan is there laid down* (by Mr. Chevalier) *at about nine*

nine miles and a half: and indeed this is nearly consonant to the truth. Now in his own map these fountains are a long mile from Bounarbachi, and Troy is still higher. Let us therefore take the most moderate computation, and suppose the camp to have been ten miles only from his Trojæ Situs; yet how could those marches and retreats have happened in so small a space, as they are described by the Poet? In that day, wherein Patroclus appears, the Grecian Army is supposed to have fought their way in a stubborn dispute, to the walls of Troy, and back again to the ships; then to have advanced a second time, and to be driven back: the whole of which amounts to forty miles. How could a hundred thousand men, or one hundred men, with such obstacles, go over the space mentioned, in the time given? It is impossible. This also has been urged by Mr. B. but not duly regarded. To remedy the difficulties which arise from this distance, the Author places the Grecian Camp three miles inland, and nearer; and supposes the land below, to have been an increment from the sea; for which he has not in this place the least evidence. Yet he assures us, that *Mr. Chevalier takes notice of—a considerable accretion of land at the mouth of the Simoïs* (p. 109.) Not one word to this purpose is to be found in the Author appealed to. On the contrary, Mr. Chevalier accuses Mr. Wood for having entertained so wild a notion. He asks him, (p. 77.) *what proof he had—and in what particular part this accretion has happened?* He adds: *It is even easy to prove, that no considerable increase can exist there, because the impetuous currents of the Hellespont constantly prevent*

prevent this, by sweeping the sands away, as fast as they accumulate at the mouth. He says, *Mr. Wood's own account compleatly refutes his hypothesis of an accretion.* Note to p. 77. The Author however persists, and begs the Reader only to look at the drawing in the Map of Mr. Chevalier---*The long low points of flat marshy land running forward into the sea evince their origin.* But what are *long low points* against plain and intelligible writing, by which the truth is signified? What are these uncertain dots to the decisive, and positive declaration of the Writer; who denies what is blindly affirmed of him, and gives a direct contradiction to the whole?

The Author of the Vindication speaks of this part of the region somewhat artfully, and describes it, as *flat marshy land, running forward into the sea.* The converse may equally be maintained, and it may just as reasonably be described, *as a flat marshy land, running backward into the Country*: so that this artifice will not avail. In short this marsh has arisen from an ancient lake; which is taken notice of by more authors than one. Strabo gives a very clear, and accurate account of the coast, from Abydus downward, and says, that the next City below was Dardanus: between which and Abydus ran the river Rhodius, opposite to Cunosema, upon the Thracian Chersonesa. Near to these was the promontory Ophrynium, and the lake Pteleos. Strabo. L. 13. p. 889. This river Rhodius, just above Ophrynium, is what the Author of the Vindication, and other Moderns seem to have taken either for the Simois, or Scamander: though neither of these rivers are to be looked

looked for in these parts. The lake Pteleos is by Strabo placed just where the marsh land appears now, near Ophrynium, which seems to be the cape Janisary of the Moderns. The Map of Mr. Wood gives the best view of this fenny ground, and of a lake, which still subsists with a small river, which runs into it. p. 306. The water was also observed by Dr. Pocock. vol. 2. p. 104. This was undoubtedly the Pteleos of Strabo: for it lies below Abydus, towards the mouth of the Propontis, or Hellespont, precisely as it is described by that Writer. L. 13. p. 883. It lies inland, and is secluded from the sea. Hence it appears to have been never drained. And in this marshy situation the Author places the camp of the Grecians. These marshes remain now; and were to be seen in the time of Strabo, seventeen hundred years ago. There is reason to think, that they were always the same, as they are fed by a spring and rivulet; and therefore they could not be produced by any accumulation of swampy soil from the sea, for they are inland, and secluded from the coast. This may be in some degree traced in the Map of Mr. Chevalier: but it is far more accurately described in that of Mr. Wood. The Author of the Vindication was not apprised of this, when he gave a delineation of the coast: but he afterwards observed some faint traces of it, in the exhibition of Mr. Chevalier, and adopted it in his text, when he thought it countenanced his opinion. But in his own map it is not to be seen. He therefore applies to his friend for intelligence: and refers the Reader to his low faint dots, in order to shew

the existence of this fenny ground. Here we cannot help asking an untoward question. As the Grecian Camp is by him here fixed; and as it is a part of the region of particular consequence, towards the determination of the City above, as described by him: how came he to apply to Mr. Chevalier for intelligence, and not to have been himself sufficiently informed? From the account, which he gives, one would imagine, that he had personally and accurately observed every thing material in this particular part, as it more especially demanded his attention. But he intimates, that he knew nothing himself: and refers us to *some long low*, and almost imperceptable, *points* in the Map of his friend, from whom he borrows this intelligence, and mistakes it. For he quotes this evidence to shew, that there had been an accumulation of land from the sea, and that this meer was owing to it. But Mr. Chevalier expressly says, and proves, that there has not been any accession of soil upon the coast: nor could there have been on account of the rapidity of the current at the Hellespont, and Dardanels: which rapidity is mentioned by Tournefort and other Writers. Hence, notwithstanding his zeal for his Friend, he has never read his book, or at least imperfectly, and to no good purpose. Strabo indeed takes notice, that the Scamander brought down a great deal of soil from above, and that there was a large protusion of mud at its mouth. But this was not the river, of which, the Author of the Vindication treats, and which is by him and others placed, between Abydus and Dardanus at the mouth of the Propontis. On the contrary,

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it was far below, and its situation may be known from the places, which were above it. These were according to the Geographer before mentioned, in order downwards, as follows: Abydus, Rhodius fl. Dardanus, Rhæteum, Sigeum, Achivorum Portus, Achivorum Castra, and Ostia Scamandri. L. 13. p. 889. 90. And he describes Achæum which was just above the Scamander, ἠδη της Τενεδιων περαιας ὑπαρχον, as at the passage to Tenedos, and below Ilium. Here the Troy of Homer, and the Grecian Camp, is to be looked for, in the vicinity of the island above, and near Troas Alexandrea, Gargarus and Lectum. If it ever existed, here only it can be found. The Author of the Vindication, and his Friend, act very politickly in depreciating Strabo, however great his authority: for if he is to be trusted, almost every article, which they have maintained, is wrong.

The Author however, having fixed the Grecian camp in a very different situation, describes it farther, as being bounded to the left and north by the river Simoïs, which is represented by him, in his map, as here entering the sea. And to shew, that it was not *the subordinate and ignoble river described by Mr. B.* he quotes from the seventh Book of Homer the following (version, p. 88.)

> The gulphy Simoïs rolling to the main
> Helmet and Shields, and godlike Heroes slain.

But in the original there is nothing of the gulphy Simoïs; nor of its rolling helmets to the main; nor of godlike Heroes. The name of

this river does not once occur in the Book mentioned: nor are these circumstances, which are here attributed to the Simoïs, to be found in any book of Homer, where the river is spoken of. The Author has some how been greatly misguided. The river mentioned in the seventh Book is the Scamander, which (strange to tell) he has totally mistaken. The words are------

Πολλοι γαρ τεθνασι καρηκομοωντες Αχαιοι,
Των νυν αἱμα κελαινον ἐϋῤῥοον αμφι Σκαμανδρον
Εσκεδασ' οξυς Αρης. L. VII. v. 328, 329.

The Scamander in these lines is by the Author converted into the *gulphy Simoïs*; and (αἱμα κελαινον) *the black gore*, is turned into *shields* and *helmets*: and what is said of one river, he attributes to another.

When he has thus in his Treatise, and in his Maps, given the name of the Simoïs to the river, which by the Grecian Camp entered the sea; he informs us soon afterwards, (p. 89.) that it was the Xanthus; and quotes the authority of Mr. Chevalier. And seven lines afterwards he informs us, that the river went by neither of these two names, but was called uniformly the Scamander. Speaking of the epithets δινηεις, μεγας ποταμος, and βαθυδινηεις, he adds, *In short, if these epithets are found in the Iliad, they are always allusive to the united waters of the two rivers, which as I have already observed, bore the name of Scamander only.* *In another place* (p. 88.) he says, *It appears also, that below the junction, the waters of both took the name of Scamander:* and, he should have

have added,—never of Simoïs. For that river, together with its name, was absorbed in the Scamander; the smaller in the greater; of which there are as many instances, as there are rivers. Who would think it possible, that contrary to his own evidence he should change this very river, the Scamander, into *the gulphy Simoïs*? But even here he is in some degree mistaken: for the Scamander (supposing this to be the true river) did not first receive its name after the junction; but far above. Its fountains according to Homer, and the best Authors, were supposed to have been in Mount Ida: Εξ Ιδαιων ορεων---Γρηνικος τε και Αισηπος, διος τε Σκαμανδρος. M. v. 19. Yet contrary to the express authority of the Poet he places the source of it in the plain beneath Bournarbachi; and makes the Simoïs the principal river; being misled by some lines of the Poet, which had been explained, but the explanation not thought worthy of notice.

In what part of the plain this junction of the two streams was effected, may be easily known: and will be found to have been high up near the City. For it is said of the two Goddesses, Juno and Minerva, that they arrived at Troy, where the two streams united. Τροιην ἱξον, Ἠχι ῥοας Σιμοεις συμβαλλετον, ηδε Σκαμανδρος. Il. E. v. 773. The Author should have considered this evidence, before he copied the Map of his Friend, which seems to be the most ill constructed and inaccurate, that ever was devised. He has indeed made a junction of the two rivers: but this junction is below, near the coast, and parallel to it: and far removed from the City, and the scene of action. It

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is effected by his arbitrarily forming in his Map a ditch, or canal, (call it which you please) and this the Author has too readily adopted: and styles it, Amnis navigabilis Plinii, 78. Yet not only Homer, as we have seen, but the Author himself says, that *the battle was fought below the confluence*. p. 88. line ult. Again----*In the 21st. Book, the battle was below the junction*. p. 89. line 20. Yet in contradiction to his own evidence he has placed the scene of action above, and made the junction below.

In short, he has been led into an errour, and has made the Simoïs the principal river: as may be seen in his Map. He therefore labours to give it the pre-eminence, and to lower the character of the other river: though he confesses, that it was called δινηεις, μεγας ποταμος, βαθυδινης. To shew the superiority of the Simoïs he quotes (p. 88.) some lines from Homer, where he says, *the River Xanthus calls on his Ally, the Simoïs, upon a particular occasion*.

———Haste, my Brother flood,
And check this mortal, who controuls a God,
Call then your subject streams, and bid them roar,
From all your fountains, swell your watry store.
With broken rocks, and with a load of dead,
Charge the black surge, and pour it on his head.

In consequence of this he tells us—*The Simoïs is characterised, as a violent, unequal, mountain torrent, rolling down in his "black surge" stones, trees, and dead bodies*. This is very plausible. But when we apply to the

the original, to which he should have applied, we find not the least intimation of a *mountain torrent*, nor of *broken rocks*, nor *load of dead*; nor *of this black surge*. See. Il. Φ. v. 308. His giving the name of Xanthus to the former River in this place, shews, that he has been misled by Mr. Pope's translation: for in the original, v. 305, it is the Scamander. And the character given to the Simoïs is only occasional, and described upon a particular event.

And as he has tried to enhance the character of the Simoïs, so he tries to lessen that of the other river. He accordingly tells us, *the Scamander is pointed out as a clear, beautiful and perennial stream*, p. 88. What a very inadequate, and unfair description this is of the river; and how contrary to the character to be found in Homer? He owns it was called by the Poet ποταμος μεγας, δινηεις, βαθυδινης, yet represents it above, merely *as a clear, beautiful, and perennial stream*. And as the former epithets are very strong, and not easily to be made void, he endeavours to evade the force of them, by saying, (p. 87.) that they occur but *once, or twice, particularly in the 21st. Book*. How can a gentleman of character, liberal, I dare say, and ingenuous, condescend in this instance, to such poor and unworthy evasions? The river is represented as βαθυδινης and βαθυδινηεις, not less than six times in this very book. Also the terms βαθυρροος, λαβρος, ευρυ ῥεων, and μεγας, are here repeatedly mentioned, and in many other places: whereas the name of the Simoïs occurs, I believe, not above seven times in the twenty

twenty four Books of Homer; and never with any epithet. Yet this is the river, to which he has given the superiority.

The Author speaks with great contempt of Mr. B. for differing from him in respect to the situation of Troy. But Mr. B. is merely a neutral in this affair; and only shews the evidence of Homer, and other Writers in respect to the place in question. Hence he is induced to say, that the Camp of the Grecians was in a very different part of the region; and far distant from the marsh, near which the Author has placed it. Consequently neither the Simoïs, nor the Scamander, nor the City itself, were to be looked for there. He has been led, by good authorities, to suppose that the City Troy of Homer, was near Troas, and Mount Lectum, and in view of the Island Tenedos, to the south. The Author, on the contrary, p. 82, says, *It has been on all hands granted, that Troy was not here.* Yet in five lines afterwards he tells us, that Monsieur Belon, did not grant it, but insisted, that Troy was there: and the same opinion was held by Sandys, Lithgow, Gemelli, and others: also by Strabo; and even by Homer himself. The Author says, that neither of the two rivers can be found here. No: nor any where else: for they have been looked for but never truly determined, by the best Geographers of old. They differ greatly in their accounts of them. But, that nobody ever supposed, as the Author asserts, that the City and rivers were situated to the south, near Alexandria, and Lectum, is a mistake: for not only some of the moderns allowed it, as I have shewn, but also several of the

Ancients.

Ancients. Hierocles ranges the places downward in the following order. Abydus, Dardanum, Ilium, Troas, and the Scamander. p. 662. And we have seen that according to Strabo they come in the following manner. Abydus, Dardanus, Rhœteum, Sigeum, Portus Achivorum, Ostia, Scamandri, Lectum. L. 13. p. 891. Here is the very part of the Region to the south, where the river Scamander, according to these writers, must have run; and consequently where the City stood in their estimation; and according to the evidence of other Writers. And this situation was sometimes of old granted. And it was upon this account, that Lysimachus, and Antigonus, built Troas in memory of Troy; because they thought that the original City stood here or near it. Hesychius was of the same opinion, and places the City near Gargarus and Antandros, at the extremity of the Region of Troas. Γαργαρον, ακρωτηριον ορους Ιδης, και πολις Τροιας, πλησιον Αντανδρου.

We have hence another reason for supposing that Homer placed his City in these parts, as it was from this mountain, that he makes Jupiter take a view of it, as well as of the ships; and at the same behold the two armies, when engaged in battle. This could not have happened if the Camp and plain of Troy had been high to the north in the vicinity of Abydus. Lecton and Gargarus were two eminences of Mount Ida, and in the vicinity of each other: as may be seen from the history of the two Goddesses, who came to Lectum, where they for a while left Morpheus in the shape of an Owl; till Juno had prepared every thing for his reception on the top of Mount Gargarus.

Il. Ξ. v. 284. and v. 292. The Author will not allow this. On the contrary he insists, that Gargarus was 260 stadia, or about 30 miles, from Lectum. p. 84. He is induced to make this computation from Strabo: by whom it is said, that after Lecton was a place called Polymedium, at the distance of forty stadia: then a small grove upon the sea coast XC stadia beyond; and after an hundred and forty Gargara, Strabo, L. 13. p. 903. The Geographer here is speaking of places, with their distances in respect to one another, as they lay below Lecton, and near the sea. One of these was the City Gargara. But the Ακρωτηριον, or summit of that name, was, as has been above shewn, just above Mt. Lecton. This may be seen from the situation of the latter eminence. Strabo accordingly tells us, that it stood upon the verge of the sea,: and to the south below was the sinus Adramyttenus καμψαντι τε το Λεκτον----ὁ Αδραμυττηνος κολπος ενδεχεται. The Author has been misled, and has supposed the number of stadia below Lectum, which amount in all 260 stadia in length, denoted the distance of Gargarus from Lectum. But if he had gone but one line farther, he would have found the true situation of this eminence, and would have perceived, that it was the highest part of Lectum; and that it stood at the extremity of the land, like Lectum, and upon the same bay of Adramyttium. Κειται δε Γαργαρα επ' ακρας ωοιυσης τον ιδιως Αδραμυττηνον καλυμενον κολπον. *The eminence called Gargara is situated upon that part of the promontory, which forms the Sinus Adramyttenus.* This very circumstance has just before been mentioned of Lectum; and

below

below was Autandros, where Æneas is supposed to have built his ships. And Hesychius has told us----πολις Τροιας πλησιον Αντανδρε: *near this same Antandros was Troy.* Hence it is manifeſt, that Gargarus was in some degree the same as Lectum, being a part of it, and the ακρωτηριον or summit. When therefore the Author says Gargarus was 30 miles from Lectum, he is just 30 miles beyond his mark. Some may perhaps say, that the Gargara mentioned above, was the city of that name; but still the city points out the mountain near which it stood, and from which it was denominated. No mistake in situation can hence ensue. Macrobius places the city towards the bottom of the mountain Gargara------cacumen Montis Idæ, et oppidum sub eodem monte. Satum. L. v. C. xx. P. 364.

In order to leſſen the authority of Strabo, the Author insists without any evidence, that he got the whole account from Demetrius of Scepsis, (p. 111.) and he says, p. 35. that *there are good grounds for believing that he* (Strabo) *never was in the Troad. That Strabo had not visited the Troade in person is certain,* p. 71. These things are introduced more than once, but what the grounds were, upon which the Author built his opinion, he never sufficiently declares, nor was it in his power. Now let us attend to what Strabo affirm concerning himself. He accordingly tells us, that *he personally visited all the countries from Armenia westward, as far as Hetruria.* L. 2. p. 177. D. And he adds, that he believes no Geographer *at any time went over so many of the regions, which he described.* How then are we to determine in this

case? Strabo ait: Morrittus negat. Utri creditis, Quirites? The question will not admit of a moments consideration. The Author, in making Strabo so much beholden to Demetrius did not consider, instead of lowering his authority, how much he increased it to the ruin of his own purpose. For as Strabo was of Amasia in Asia Minor, he had the best opportunities of getting intelligence concerning the places in that part of the world. And when he travelled westward towards Greece and Italy, as the common place of passage was at Abydus we, may well suppose, that he stopped at that city, which by some is included in the region of Troas. And it surely cannot be thought any great presumption, if we should take for granted, that as a diligent Geographer he visited Ilium, and Troas itself; and the places in their vicinity, when he was so very near. Few therefore could be better judges of this part of the world than Strabo. If then to this experience we add the information he obtained from the writings of Demetrius, who had been a native of this country, and lived within a very few miles of the Ilienses: where is it possible to meet with better authority? Whoever will read the account given by him of the region Troas, will find that he speaks of himself as an eye witness almost in every line. It is therefore in vain to depreciate Strabo, and to make light of his evidence.

The Author takes notice of the Erineos or fig-tree, together with some other objects, mentioned by Homer, as near Troy: and he has determined their situation, so as to make them according to his fancy correspond

correspond with the City. But as his determination of the city is certainly wrong, their situation cannot be right. If the Gnomon be faulty, every line from it must be in a wrong direction. The reader will therefore excuse me, if I say nothing of the pretended Callicolone, the tomb of Ilus, the tomb of Myrina, or of the Scæan gate: and if I pass over the arguments used in describing them. These objects are mentioned by Strabo, but placed in a very different situation, and nothing certain can be determined about them.

The Author certainly has been hurried away by too great zeal; and dealt in a very inconclusive mode of reasoning. He took a Treatise before him, and began from the first page onward to object to every article. From the very outset he betrays a very hostile disposition; however he may disavow it. We find him pursuing every vage idea, which like an ignis fatuus plays before him: not once considering into what mazes it may lead him. It was thought strange, that the Poet should place Jupiter to the south upon Mount Gargarus, if he was to view Τρωων τε πολιν και νηας Αχαιων, which according to the Author's position must have been thirty, or as some have thought, forty miles from that eminence. This objection the Author (p. 85.) tries to obviate. He says, *If human eyes could see the altar of Lectum from Ilium, much more could those of Jupiter view Ilium from Gargarus; a less distance from a higher summit.* We here find, that the Author, who gave credit to the fable of the wooden horse, has an equal belief in Jupiter, and his superior faculty of sight. And because I do not shew that

deference

deference to Jupiter, or to his optics, he accuses me of *a short-sighted system.* (p. 86.) But in effecting all this he tries to lessen the difficulty by an improper statement of the distance. In the first place Gargarus was not at a less distance; and there was nothing said about Ilium in the passage by Homer: but the ultimate of Jupiter's view was the city και νηας Αχαιων, *and the Grecian ships,* which according to his own position were a great way beyond Ilium. The situation of this place we learn also from Strabo. L. 13. p. 902. He therefore seems after all to entertain some doubts concerning the extent of Jupiter's vision; and by contracting the distance he thinks to make it more plausible. He accordingly directs his view to a nearer object. But this evasion is not ingenuous; and I am sorry the Author would submit to it, though in favour of Jupiter.

The Author often intimates, that there is a great absurdity in transferring *Troy to Egypt:* an article, which was never supposed. The contrary is the truth, for it was mentioned as a probability, that Troy in Egypt might have been in the Poem transferred to Phrygia, and that it was even then an ideal place; and never existed. The Author thinks that he puts a difficult question: and asks, *where will you find Ilium in Egypt?* (p. 77.) Nobody ever entertained so idle a notion; nor is it necessary to suppose it. At the same time he is not aware, that he may be asked,—*where will you find Ilium at Bounarbachi?* It is not to be met with there, nor ever was: for it stood several miles below: and Pergamum, the supposed Citadel, was still farther off, and in a different

different country. The situation therefore of Troy, if this be the test, could never have been, where he has chosen to place it, (p. 92.) His argument militates against himself. He still insists, that it could not have been to the south, near Troas; for no Simoïs or Scamander are to found in these parts. This may be true: for they have been sought after, as I have before said, by many Writers, but were never uniformly determined: no, not by Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, or Antoninus. But still, if we believe the Poet, his Troy was here. He makes Gargarus thirty miles nearer the city than Lectum was, from a passage in Strabo, which he has totally mistaken. See Strabo, L. 13. p. 903.

There is at the end of the Author's Treatise a list of the Writers, who believed in the history of Troy, as described by Homer: and who supposed the City to have existed in Phrygia. These amount in number to near fifty. If to this collection there were to be added five thousand, or fifty thousand, it would not affect my argument. I believe, there were very few persons in all Hellas, that did not afford it in some degree, credit. But the same persons afforded a like belief to the wars of the Giants and Titans: and to other strange traditions. Error is sometimes systematic; and universally admitted in large bodies of people. The Metempsychosis is at this day religiously believed by Nations of great extent in the East. Many are persuaded that the soul of their Grandsire may be in an ape, or an Ass. But however popular and extensive this notion is now, or may have been for ages, the Author I trust, will never adopt their opinion.

Towards

Towards the end of the Vindication there is a very unexpected compliment introduced; and mention is made of the *well deserved fame* of Mr. B. p. 123. If this be true, how came the Author to endeavour to ruin that fame by the most severe, unmerited, and unjust censures? Why has he accused him of ignorance, absurdity, and futility? of false quotations, unfair translations, and wilful deviation from the truth? And this not once, but repeatedly. His name is mentioned above an hundred times, and generally with some sneer, and with the most sovereign contempt. The Reader is applied to continually to take warning, how he trusts a person, on whose word there is no reliance: who perverts, what he takes in hand, and abuses shamefully the authorities to which he refers. This person of *well deserved fame* is represented as full of low cunning and treachery; of carrying on a vile hypothesis, which he tries to support by the worst means. Why does not the Author look upon the character of another, as an object too sacred to be trifled with; and not found his own fame upon the ruin of his neighbours? Why has he not shewn more regard for his own character: for however fair, it must suffer from that undeserved censure and contempt, which he too wantonly discloses. As to this severity towards me, it amounts to nothing; I turn my back upon it as I would do to an eastern blight; and shelter myself easily from the noxious vapour. And while I ruminate upon these things, I think, I hear a friendly spirit say, *be at ease, and may all that rise against thee to do thee hurt, be as that young man,* 2. Samuel. C. 18. v. 32.

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As the Author is a gentleman of learning, He may hereafter be of service to his Country by his influence and writings. If therefore I might at my time of day presume to give advice, I would recommend to him more care and caution in his mode of reasoning: that He may not give way to every flimsy and inconclusive argument which fancy suggests. I have shewn, that he pronounces it a misfortune *to trust to old established truths*, even of *undoubted authority*: whereas the assent is rational; and the opportunity a blessing. He likewise has thought it a misfortune (for so it is still intimated) to trust to those, who *know better than ourselves*: which however he says, is *not irrational*: it is therefore according to him a misfortune to act *not irrationally*, or in other words, according to right reason. I would likewise recommend to him not to indulge in a specious, but intricate flow of words: and in too florid, but embarrassed, diction. He should remember, that flowering shrubs bear little or no fruit. A composition of this kind is like the gawdy colours in an Indian screen. They may at first glance be a little noticed: but are seldom looked at a second time. Take for an example, what follows after the misfortunes above mentioned. p. 1.----*Yet this very circumstance, by which truth extends the frontiers of her empire, greatly weakens her internal powers of defence, and lulled into security by the number of her adherents she is too often unprepared to ward off the attacks against her person at home. In the present instance, Mr. B. has afforded us a striking proof of this assertion.* What this proof is, I do not see: nor did I ever read any thing so

refined, figurative, and so incomprehensible. We expect fruit but find nothing but flowers. Our feelings are like those of some Indians, when they were treated with a bowl of whipt-syllabub. Each took a portion: but stood with open mouths and looks of amazement; for when they expected something solid, they found nothing but inanity. I would farther request of him not to betray himself, and shew, that he was not upon the spot, by referring to the Map of another person: and at the same time prove the insufficiency of his own by that reference. He says, that his Friend's Chart is very accurate. How came he then in many respects to differ so often from it: as may be seen by comparing? I fear, they were both the work of fancy: or at least the offspring of a remote and uncertain recollection. That the description of the region afforded by Mr. Chevalier does not quite merit the character given to it by his Friend, may I think be seen from an account afforded us in the British Critic: October, 1798. p. 447. In this is mentioned a letter from Salonica: by which we are informed, that *the Chart of Mr. Chevalier was not formed upon the spot on gemetrical principles, but from memory only.*

It is farther to be wished, that the Author, in the prosecution of his purpose, had not trifled about articles of little moment, such as ωμη and χαιρεω; but had considered the principal arguments afforded, upon which the whole depends. These should not have been evaded, but obviated, if it were in his power. It is maintained by Mr. B. that the city Troy never existed in Phrygia; that the name was never

of

of old acknowledged by the natives. In the march of Xerxes through upper Pyrygia, Ilium and a people styled Ilienses are mentioned; but no Τροη, or Troja; no Trojani, nor region Troas. This was probably one reason, why Metrodorus of Lampsacus, and the great Philosopher Anaxagoras, both inhabitants of this region, insisted that the account of the war by Homer was a fable. The city celebrated by the Poet under the name of Troy is also called by him Ilium: and two places are described by Strabo of that name, which existed in his time. L. 13. p. 886. Here, if any where, we should expect to meet with Troy, but it was never to be found. Nor was there any district here, or place whatsoever, which had a reference to that name, till Antigonus and Lysimachus built Troas.

As there were two places which belonged to the Ilienses, in this part of the world; there was a dispute, which of them was the ancient Troy. Hellanicus gave it in favour of the city near the sea side; but Strabo adjudged it to the Pagus Iliensium, some miles above, L. 13. p. 898. This very debate shews that neither of the two had any pretensions. For if either of them had any just claim, the name of Troja, and some traditions of the siege, must have remained, upon which that claim would have been founded. But the natives of neither of these places could afford any such proof; otherwise the alternative would have been easily decided.

We find that many subordinate cities are mentioned in the course of

the Poem; such as Sestus, Abydus, Dardanum, Lyrnessus, Larissa, Thebe, Chryse, Arisba, Percote, Miletus, Mycale: also the Islands Lesbos, and Tenedos; and the mountains Gargarus, Lectum and Ida. It is strange that all these should have retained their names for ages afterwards, while the most celebrated place of all, Troy, was not had in remembrance; nor the region of Troy ever mentioned. We are told that it was taken and destroyed. Arisba. Thebe, Chryse, and many of the cities above, underwent the same fate, and some of them repeatedly. If we trust to the authority of Homer, no less than twenty three cities in the vicinity of Troy, were taken by Achilles. Il. I. v. 328. How came those specified above to have been known, and identified afterwards: and the most remarkable of all, upon which Homer had impressed a sanction, to have been totally obliterated? how many cities have been sacked, and more than once ruined; yet have risen again, and preserved their name? what is extraordinary, Ilium remained, and a people styled Ilienses; but as I have before said, neither Troja, Troas, nor Trojani.

Some have thought, that the stones, and remains, of ancient Troy were carried away to repair Achilleum. Strabo, L. 13. p. 896. But, if these were the real ruins, the name of that City must have existed, by which those ruins were determined: and consequently its situation been known. But the disputes, which have at all times prevailed, shew the uncertainty of these notions. Besides, these stones, which were supposed to have been carried off, belonged to Ilium. This

was

was a city very different from Troy, and the Ilium of Homer, as Strabo, past contradiction, has shewn. The account therefore of these dilapidations, as Demetrius informs us, was a fiction. They were introduced, as an expedient to prove the situation of a city, which never existed. Had Troy ever stood in these parts, the Poem of Homer would have immortalized it. Neither the name, nor place, would have been forgotten. It was however never heard off, till the later Greeks, and the Romans after them, blindly introduced the name; but did not know to what part to assign the city. And here it appears extraordinary, as both Ιλιος, and Τροιη, (Ilium, and Troja) are by Homer applied as names to the same city; that the former should be retained, and the other (Troja), if this Ilium were that city, never occur. Above all, that the people should be solely distinguished by the appellations of Ιλιεις, Ilienses, or Iliades, which never once occur in Homer; and that the name Τρωες (or Trojani), which with its inflexions is to be found some hundred of times, should be totally lost. If Troy had existed, and was to be found in Ilium; and had these Ilienses been the descendants of the ancient Trojans; the authority of the Poet would have prevented that title being ever annihilated. The natives would have been proud of being denominated from such Ancestors.

I could have wished therefore, that the Author of the Vindication, had considered more carefully these articles, and others of the like consequence; and the arguments deduced from them. Instead of this he has often amused himself in objecting, when there was no opposition,

opposition, and proving what was never denied: that Ilium and Odusseus (p. 33.) were never removed to Egypt; and that Scepsis and Cebrenia were not to be found upon the Nile. p. 44. I assent fully, and I farther believe, that there was no Mount Gargarus at Memphis, nor Ida at Thebes. But what is all this to the purpose? The system which he is pleased to controvert, depends not upon these trifling articles; but is founded upon a variety of arguments, and cannot be in the least affected, should one or two out of many be arraigned, as inconclusive. Yet some have thought, that if they could artfully undermine one pillar out of five hundred, the building must necessarily fall. But I trust, that it is too well supported.

The Author is a keen antagonist, but he should take care not to be in opposition to himself, and counteract his own purpose. This we saw happen, when he placed Troy on an eminence, bounded by the Scæan gate: and when he afterwards brought it down below on the wrong side of that gate, in contradiction to all that he had said just before. Hence if we look for the city in its primary situation, it is not to be found: and we may say of it, as a Poet says of modern Rome:

Et Romæ in Româ nil reperis mediâ.

Troy is run away from its self.

The Romans had as great a veneration for Homer, when they became acquainted with him, as the Grecians: and looked upon the war of Troy, as a true history. They went farther, and supposed, that Æneas

after

after that war came to Italy: and that they were descended from the Trojans. Bochart opposed this notion: and I never heard that he incurred any obloquy, or ill will, upon the occasion. He observes, that all Colonies, wherever they may settle, always retain some traits and resemblance of the people and Country, whence they came. He allows, that all the Roman Poets and Historians, from Nævius and Fabius Pictor down to Livy, and Dionysius Halicarnassensis, speak of it, and by many it was believed. Yet he contends, and very justly ----iter Æneæ in Italiam nullum habere fundamentum in rei veritate. vol. 1. p. 1077. The general opinion of Writers, all comparatively late, amounts to little: for where there is an Epidemic blindness, we may expect many to be affected. In respect to any traces of their Phrygian Ancestors he insists that none appear. And he accordingly with a wonderful profusion of learning gives an account of the language of the Phrygians, and their neighbours: also of their rites and Deities, of which not the least resemblance was to be found among the Romans. Æneas is made by Virgil to say----Sacra Deosque dabo: but nothing of this sort was afforded. Yet among the sacred articles, said to have been introduced, was the Palladium. This, when the Temple of Vesta was in flames, Metellus is reported at the hazard of his life to have rescued: and on that account had great honours conferred upon him. Yet this must have been a different Image: for the Grecians, and even Ovid, a Roman, maintained that the Palladium was stolen by Diomede and Ulysses, before the City Troy was taken:

and

and it could never have returned into the hands of the Trojans. It is said to have been the image of the Goddess Pallas, which together with his Lares and Penates Æneas was supposed to have brought with him, when he landed.

Sum pius Æneas, raptos qui ex hoste Penates
Classe veho mecum.

Yet Varro affirms, that there were in early times no statues of the Deities: and this mode of adoration was not introduced till the 170th. year of Rome. Plutarch also tells us in the life of Numa, that the ancient people of Latium had no representations of Deities, either carved or painted. They insisted, that divine objects ought not to be described by things inferior; and that the Deity could not be conceived, but by internal contemplation. How then could the Palladium of Troy exist in the time of Metellus; especially, if it had long before been stolen by Diomede and the Greeks?

This is also mentioned by Virgil, who speaks of this theft being committed by the persons above.

Tydides sed enim scelerumque inventor Ulysses,
Fatale aggressi sacrato avellere templo
Palladium. Æn. L. 2. v. 164.

In short there were no traces of Troy to be found in ancient Rome. All traditions antecedent to the building of the city, and long after

were

were dark and fabulous. This was the opinion of Livy. Quæ ante conditam condendamve urbem, poeticis magis decora fabulis, quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis, traduntur: ea nec affirmare, nec refellere, in animo est. L. 1. C. 1. Hence we may infer from this excellent Historian, that the fact was disputed; but that he would not venture to decide it. Could he have determined it in favour of the Romans, he would not have omitted the opportunity.

There is another article, of which the very learned Bochart, has not taken notice, though it appears of great consequence. It is extraordinary, that these supposed emigrants from Troy, should not have retained the name of the people, whence they came. We never find them of old styled Teucri, Troës, or Trojani; but on the contrary Latini. These were the people whom they are said to have conquered; and contrary to all rule and custom, to have assumed their name, contra morem, says le Cerda, as we may learn from the people of Africa; victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere. Sallust. Jugurth. The conquered people may suffer a change: but there is scarcely an instance of the victors, immediately losing their national appellation, and taking the name of their vassals; so that no remains, no history of it, should be afterwards discovered.

Virgil thought proper to found his excellent Poem, upon a received opinion, that Æneas came to Latium from Phrygia, and brought a Colony of Trojans with him. But this notion was certainly controverted, as we may infer from Livy, quoted above: and more particu-

larly from Virgil himself. And the objection arose from there being no account of any people called Trojans, nor Teucri; nor of Ilienses, in the ancient traditions of the country; nor was there any reference to Troy. Yet they were supposed to have had a regular succession of kings. How was it then possible for them so soon to have lost sight of their original? Virgil must have been well acquainted with this objection, for he tries to obviate, what was brought in opposition to his system; but with what success the Reader must judge. He has recourse to the higher powers: and introduces Jupiter as insisting, that Juno should lay aside her inveteracy to the Trojans. She at last agrees, but upon condition, that the hateful name of *Troy*, and *Trojan*, should never more be admitted, and kept up by their posterity. She accordingly addresses Jupiter in these words.

Pro Latio obtestor, pro Majestate tuorum, &c.
Ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos,
Aut vocem mutare viros, aut vertere vestes.
Occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troja.

Æneidos. L. 12. 820, &c.

Jupiter assents to this, and adds among other things

Subsident Teucri: morem ritusque sacrorum
Adjiciam. v. 836.

We find, that he would do something more, and give them new rites and form of worship. Though we may not allow the means, yet we must admit the facts: and setting aside the interposition of these Deities, we learn, that the name of Troy, or of Trojans, was

not

not admitted among the ancient Latini. In other words, they were unknown to them: and all the rites, and religion, of the Phrygians, were equally unknown. Hence no traces of them are upon inquiry to be found. In consequence of this we may infer from the Poet, that some objections had been made in his time to the account given of Æneas; and to the pretensions of the Romans, who affected to be of Trojan original. To these objections, we may perceive, that Virgil, in the speech of Juno, makes a tacit reply. This is composed, and executed with much art and industry. But still in giving a reason for the deficiency, he allows the fact; which was, that no account of Troy, or Trojan, was to be found in their ancient traditions. Hence this short Corallary results: *It is impossible to believe, that a people settled, and ruled, in a Country, of whose name there was no original record.*

Many may think, that I have taken much unnecessary trouble: for whoever trusts to Homer, must know, that the Poet plainly asserts, that Æneas never left Troas; but, after the ruin of Priam and his family, he reigned over the Trojans there, and no where else: though some have thought otherwise. This is manifest from his words.

Ηδη γαρ Πριαμοιο γενεην ηχθηρε κρονιων.
Νυν δε δη Αινειαο Βιη Τρωεσσιν αναξει,
Και παιδες παιδων, τοι κεν μετοπισθε γενωνται.

Il. Υ. 306. See also v. 180.

We are here told, that the race of Priam were become obnoxious to Jupiter, and in his room, Æneas would reign over the people of

Troas. There was an alteration made in these verses, probably in the time of Augustus Cæsar, when for Τρωεσσιν there was artfully substituted παντεσσιν. This was done, in order to countenance the Hypothesis of Virgil, that Æneas came to Italy, and that the Romans were descended from the Trojans. Strabo. L. 13. p. 906. The lines therefore in the Æneis corresponded with this reading.

Hic domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis. Æneid. L. 13. v. 97.

Hence, according to the lines above, Homer is made to announce the future grandeur of the Romans. But how could the Bard allude to this extent of Empire, who according to most accounts wrote before any Romans existed, and before their City was founded? It was a wretched expedient to countenance a fable; and soon became extinct. Bochart assures us, that there is not a printed copy of Homer, nor any manuscript now known in which this reading is to be found In Mr. Pope's Translation, Book 20. v. 355. there are subjoined some observations upon this subject, well worth notice, which I recommend to the Reader.

If Æneas had ever come to Italy, we should have heard something of Venus, his reputed Mother, who was his tutelary Deity. Virgil mentions, that in Sicily, which was only a place of passage, he raised a temple to her honour.

Tum vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes
Fundatur Veneri Idaliæ. Æneid. L. v. v. 759.

But

But there was nothing of this sort in Italy, where he was, with his son and Colony, supposed to have settled. This is something extraordinary. We read in late times of Venus Genetrix, and Æneadum Mater; and Sanctuaries were built, and rites instituted, in consequence of her introduction: but to these, the ancient Romans were utterly strangers. The second month of the year, was thought to be denominated from her. Of these articles, the learned Bochart (v. 1. p. 1067.) takes notice. Si venisset pius Æneas ille in Italiam, sine dubio commendâsset plurimum cultum Veneris, quam dicebat Matrem suam. Sed illius nullum vestigium in Româ veteri. He then observes from Macrobius, that some people thought that the month of April was so called from Venus Aphrodite; as the antecedent month was from Mars: and that it was by the appointment of Romulus. But the same Author tells us, that this was a great mistake; though at first he seems to favour the notion, that Æneas came to Italy. Huc usque dices eum (Macrobium) favere sententiæ, quâ Æneas dicitur venisse in Italiam. Sed quæ sequuntur, ea ipsa penitus subvertunt.—*Cincius in eo libro, quem de Festis reliquit, ait, imperite quosdam opinari, Aprilem Mensem Antiquos a Venere dixisse; cum nullus dies festus, nullumque sacrificium insigne, Veneri per hunc mensem a majoribus institutum sit: sed ne in carminibus quidem Saliorum Veneris ulla, ut cæterorum Cælestium, laus celebretur. Cincio etiam Varro consentit, affirmans, nomen Veneris ne sub Regibus quidem apud Romanos vel Latinum vel Græcum fuisse: et ideo non potuisse mensem a Venere nominari.* Macrob. L. 1.

L. 1. p. 170. This passage is not now to be found in Varro; but there is another passage still extant; in which that Author very justly blames those, who would derive the month Aprilis from Aphrodite, the Grecian name of Venus; for her name no where occurred, in any ancient memorials of the Romans.—Cujus nomen ego antiqueis littereis quod nusquam inveni, magis puto dictum, quod ver omnia aperit, Aprilem. Varro de Ling. Lat. Amotel. p. 50. By this is meant, that Aprilis is quasi Aperilis, and so called, because in this month blossoms and fruits begin to open themselves. April therefore was by no means derived from Venus Αφροδιτη; for we find, that her name of old was utterly unknown to the Romans. But this could not possibly have happened, if Æneas had ever come to Latium. See Bochart. Vol. 1. p. 1067.

Some may perhaps think, that the Ludus Troja, or Trojanus, is a proof, that the Romans came originally from Troy. But upon consideration we shall find, that no such inference can be made. This exercise is indeed described by Virgil, as performed by some young persons of Troy during their residence in Sicily. These under the guidance of Iülus, go through all the intricate evolutions of Hussars, or other light Horsemen of these times. This, if we consider, that they had been wandering for the most part on the seas, must seem extraordinary. It is true, Virgil represents Iülus, some short time antecedent, upon a fiery steed, and wishing to engage a lion; forgetting that a night or two before, he introduced him, or Cupid under his semblance,

semblance, as a child, whom Dido took to her bosom,—*interdum gremio fovet.* Soon after, he is farther described in Italy at a council of war at midnight; at which time he presents Euryalus with a warrior's sword.—mirâ, quem fecerat arte Lycaon Cnossius. Æneid. IX. v. 304. This he took off from his shoulders, and gave him when he was going upon a dangerous expedition. These articles were all within the compass of a few months; and it may be worth while to know, at what age he performed these atchievements. This may be with tolerable exactness made out; for Andromache says, that her son Astyanax would have been just as old.

Sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat,
Et nunc æquali tecum pubesceret ævo. Æneid. L. 3. v. 490.

Now Astyanax was an infant in his nurse's arms, just before his father's death, and the ruin of Troy: and the events above, were six years inclusive afterwards. For Dido tells Æneas---te septima portat æstas. And when they were in Sicily, it is farther said—Septima poſt Trojæ excidium jam vertitur ætas. L. v. v. 626. Iülus therefore could be but [1] seven years, or seven years and a half old, when he was riding a fiery horse; when he was assisting at a council of war at night, at which time he gave his sword, not one of lath, but a warriour's sword, to Euryalus: when he is also described upon the rampart, drawing his bow, and killing

1 Livy speaks of him, after his father's death, as still impuber——nondum maturus imperio: and under the tuition af a woman. L. 1. C. 3. P. 12.—Varior. This was between three and four years after his appearance in Sicily.

Fortem

Fortem Numanum, the Hero Numanus Remulus. Æneid. L. IX. v. 663. Lastly, this was his age, when he performed these feats of horsemanship, in the Ludus Troja: and this at an æra, when we are told, that the use of Cavalry in war was not yet known. Virgil with all his superlative excellence certainly sometimes forgets himself: and when it is said, interdum bonus dormitat Homerus, we may fairly add, interdum nutat et ipse Maro. This I have mentioned to shew, that there is no dependence upon Virgil, concerning this custom. It seems to have been an imitation of the Βηταρμος, or Pyrrhic dance, which was particularly practised in Crete, and generally by young persons. It took its rise probably among the Romans, when they first began to be acquainted with the Grecians; and at the time when the story about Æneas, and the worship of Venus, were introduced. The first celebration of it, that occurs in history, was, I believe, in the time of Sylla. Plutarch. Cato. p 700. Nothing therefore can be inferred from the Ludus Trojanus, concerning the origin of the Romans It would be idle to suppose, because a person in these days, practised the Louvre, or Allemand, or a Morisco dance, that he was of France, or Germany, any more than of Fez or Algiers. The usage of the Prussian exercise will never make Sergeant Kite a Brandenburgher. We may find some very good Observations upon this head, made by Professor Heyne, in his Edition of Virgil, vol. 2. Excursus V. p. 624. But the fullest account is given by my very learned friend, Doctor G. H. Noehden, in a Commentary upon Virgil,

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by him published at Brunswic 1794. vol. 1. p. 332. He has, I believe, omitted no Greek or Roman Author, from whom any intelligence can be obtained. Hence we have afforded us an opening to very curious information.

It seems extraordinary, as I have before taken notice, that people should be so very solicitous about the reputation of Homer, when it was not in the least danger. For in the estimation of the world a Poet's character does not depend upon the truth of his subject, but upon the execution of his work. There was therefore no occasion to write a Vindication of Homer, for there had been nothing hinted to his disparagement. Not the least evil accrued, though I ventured to substitute an apologue instead of a supposed truth, or to have removed the scene to another region. I believe few have shewn a greater regard for the Poet's honour, or placed his excellence in a fairer light. Those who will not allow the Ilias to be a fable, yet own that it abounds with stories of Gods, and Demi-Gods; also with many supernatural events, and strange occurrences; which by every reasonable and impartial person must be given up; and they are accordingly so acknowledged. In consequence of this, those who insist upon the authenticity of the history, are obliged to make great defalcations; and to divest the poem of many spurious ornaments. Hence it looks like a tree, stript of its leaves and branches; nothing but the bare stem appears,—trunco, non frondibus efficit umbram. This in great measure is allowed by the Author of the Vindication: but he asserts,

that whatever improbabilities there may be, they do not impeach the credibility of the history. But this is a great mistake; for the truth of any history must be more or less doubted, in proportion to these incredible articles. What should have been said, is this, that they do not affect the Poet. On the contrary, if they are well conducted, they add to his reputation. The whole being a figment will not prove any obstacle. The Poem of the Fairy Queen is an allegory; and the history of La Mancha's Knight is a fiction. Yet did either Spencer or Cervantes suffer in their character? or was the reputation of their works diminished? Why then are we so blindly solicitous about the truth of any poetical work, if it was designed to be a fable? Many fictions serve to illustrate the subject matter, and to lead to truths in disguise. If we admit nothing, but what is literally true, all tropes and metaphors must be given up: and analogy laid aside. The greatest beauties, and most useful ornaments in writing must be sacrificed. Let then the war of Troy be either real or feigned; to what does it amount? The Ilias will in all respects be the same, and its excellence unimpaired.

But it is objected, that I have supposed, that it originated in Egypt. Something to this purpose has been laid before the Reader; but nothing determined. But if it were true, the same conclusions would follow; as the Poem would be the same, from whatever quarter it came. If we possess a salutary fruit, or uncommon species of flower, why are we over solicitous about its native region, or climate? And if a

person

perſon should be so indiscrete, as to say, that it came from the Desert of Zara, or the snows of Greenland: still be not too much offended; nor give way to extravagant censure, and contemptuous ill-will. Mix a little compassion with your severity, and thank Heaven that you are better informed. To what obloquy have some people been exposed, because they ventured to engage in an innocent inquiry! There has been an outcry on all sides; that the whole of ancient history was in danger. It was, they say, a great presumption to move such a question.

Μη κινειν Καμαριναν, ακινητος γαρ αμεινων.

Yet such questions have been agitated; and no evil has ensued. We know, that the popular story of Regulus, and of his return to Carthage, is mentioned by Silius Italicus, and likewise by Horace, and recorded, as true. Yet whoever reads Palmerius, will find good reason to doubt it. The whole history of the Trojan War is by Monsr. Paschal set aside as a fable. And the evidence of Paschal is of no small consequence. *Homer wrote a Romance: for nobody can believe, that Troy and Agamemnon had any more existence, than the golden apple. He had no intention to write a history, but merely to amuse* [1] *us.* See the Anecdotes of distinguished Persons, by W. Seward Esqr. Supplement. p. 249.

1 Every body knows the excellence of Monsr. Paschal, of whom Bayle, and many other respectable Writers, speak with the highest veneration. Hence I am not the only person even of the Moderns, who have esteemed the war of Troy a fable. I have the countenance of some of the wisest

But it is still said, if this war is doubted, to what can we trust? I answer, to every history, which is better authenticated; to the history of the siege of Tyre, and of Carthage; also of Saguntum. We may give credit to the Histories of Hannibal, and the Scipios; of Pompey, and Lucullus; of Cato, and of Cæsar; in preference to any history of the son of Venus, or of Thetis; of Jupiter, Neptune, or Vulcan. Besides, the dispute about this City in Phrygia is not merely, at what time it existed, or where: but whether it could possibly have existed: for the nature of the Country is such, that the best Geographers could never ascertain its position. Strabo thought, that there was a part of the region near Achæum, where it might have stood. But this was only opinion. The Natives had no tradition about it: nor was the name of Troy known there. Mr. Chevalier, as we have seen, has placed it upon a hill inland; and the Author of the Vindication follows him. But he ultimately differs from him, and differs from himself; and is at variance with Homer, and all the world beside. Still the alarm has been so great, that it has been said: *Our holy Religion is hazarded; and our faith in danger.* But surely their faith must be very lukewarm, that can be affected by the tale of a wooden Horse, and a Phrygian Borough. And they do not consider the injury which they do to Religion, as well as the dishonour,

wisest Men of antiquity: and I have mentioned, among others, the name of Anaxagoras; who has been treated with so much contempt. It was through him, that such improvements were made in religious philosophy: for he added νους, or divine Intellect to matter; which before was thought, not only to be eternal, but the universal cause of Beings.

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by making it depend upon such foreign and precarious objects. I little thought, that by demolishing Babel, I should injure the Holy City: or by pulling down a Pagoda, ruin the Church.

Another argument to which many have applied, and of which I have taken some notice before, is founded on the authority of Thucydides. He believed the history of this war to be true, and gave it his sanction. *How is it possible*, they say, *to oppose such evidence?* He was certainly a most excellent Historian: yet we may reasonably suppose, that like Socrates, Plato, Solon, and other Philosophers, of Greece, he had his share of credulity; and believed, as they did, in the traditions of his Country. Where they all abounded, we cannot suppose him to have been exempt. If then we were to assent to any strange articles, which they believed, it would be difficult to know where to stop. We must give credit to the story of the Hydra, and of brazen bulls; also of Cerberus, and Typhœus; and the war of the Gods. The history of their first kings also must be received, as it was implicitly believed by them. Such was Cecrops διφυης, and the serpentine Erichthonius, proles sine matre creata; together with numberless metamorphoses, and idle fables, with which their mythology and histories are filled. The rape of Ganymede, the conflagration of Phaëton, the rape of Proserpine, and wandering of Ceres; the history of Argus πανοπτης; the fable of the Cow Iö; and the αποθεωσις of Hercules, were looked upon as indisputable facts, and admitted into their Chronology. They were referred to in their calculations; and

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the times of other events were determined by them. This we learn by the accounts transmitted from Thallus, Philochorus, Eratosthenes, and other Chronologists, mentioned by Tatianus, Theophilus, Clemens, and from the Parian Marbles still extant. The most incredible stories were looked upon as sacred truths; and they raised altars, and performed religious rites in consequence of this belief. Hence these traditions were not only credited by Palæphatus, Phurnutus, and Antoninus Liberalis; but by Pliny, Pausanias, and the sage Plutarch; and long before, by Solon, Socrates, Plato, and other Philophers of ancient date. We must not therefore conclude, that a history must necessarily be genuine, because they believed it; for they were credulous to the last degree. Other reasons must be assigned for a just assent, if any such can be obtained. Their authority in such instances, cannot be deemed sufficient: for they believed more or less the greatest absurdities. I say, more or less, for they were not strictly uniform in their degree of faith. Thucydides may be observed at times to speak with some diffidence, and not to place an intire confidence in Homer. He doubts in some instances, whether the Poet is to be trusted: *ει τῳ ἱκανος τεκμηριωσαι*; again, *τῃ Ὁμηρῳ αν ποιησει ει τι χρη χαινταυθα πιστευειν*. L. 1. C. 9. p. 9. C. 10. p. 10.

It has been mentioned, that this subject upon which I had before written, had been considered by me for a great many years. And I had collected many memorials from a variety of Authors, and to a large amount, concerning the life of the Poet, and the history of his

his family. These memorials seemed to be curious, and at the same time not very obvious. But the Author tells us, *that all that I have said is conjecture, and of no weight. And notwithstanding my eruaition, my authority on this subject is on a level with that of the most ignorant.* p. 31. This is very decisive, and determinate: and the Author sets off to great advantage the opinion, which he entertains of his own superiority. I shall not therefore, whatever erudition He may please to allow me, venture to reply; but will timely withdraw myself from so unequal a conflict. But before I quit the field intirely, I beg to hint to the Author, that however conscious he may be, of his parts and powers, there are many inaccuracies, and mistakes still remaining in the Treatise, which I have been obliged to oppose. But as I am led to believe, that I have proved my innocence in respect to many severe articles of censure, preferred against me, I shall rest contented with having performed the duty, which I owed to my character; and omit every thing, which that duty does not require. Nor should I perhaps have made any reply to the Treatise above mentioned, had it not contained some popular arguments, which have been elsewhere used upon the occasion. Hence by replying to one, I give an answer to all. I had likewise another reason, which has always been prevalent in these researches, wherein I have at all controverted the early histories of Greece. It seemed to me, that, if I shewed the obscurity, uncertainty, and inconsistency, of these

histories,

histories, I should tacitly recommend the History, of all others, the most ancient, and most excellent; and shew its superiority.

CONCLUSION.

Thus much I thought proper to say in my justification, in order to shew that my purpose was good; and at the same time to take off all undue alarm. I shall now venture to conclude with this aphorism, *That the detection of error can never be the bane of truth.*

Parcite, propositum legitis quicunqne libellum,
Si temerè opposui memet juvenilibus armis,
Lassatusque annis, et longo debilis ævo.
Sed tamen, ut Summi voluit clementia Patris,
Non vigor omnis abest; virtus neque pristina cessit.

ERRATA.

Page 7.	l.	13.	*dele* that.
15.	l.	11.	*read* οἴομαι.
22.	l.	11.	follows.
26.	l.	18.	keenneſs.
32.	l.	20.	hic Jupiter. p. 10. *for* hoc numen Spartæ, p. 12.
33.	l.	4.	p. 141.
38.	bottom.		you *for* ye.
43.	l.	19 & 21.	loſe.
45.	l.	10.	Chieftains.
51.	l.	8.	Achivorum.
56.	l.	20.	Cherſoneſe.
58.	l.	21.	protrusion.
61.	l.	12.	Bounarbachi.
65.	l.	5.	Ostia Scamandri.
	l.	17.	same time.
66.	l.	11.	Mt. Lecton.
		16.	to 260.
67.	l.	12.	Saturn.
68.	l.	1.	negat.
		5.	For, as.
		8.	Abydus, we.
69.	l.	13.	vague.
74.	l.	17.	geometrical.
75.	l.	2.	Phrygia.
83.	l.	19.	Κρονιων.
86.	l.	7.	Amſtel.
91.	l.	2.	Zaara.

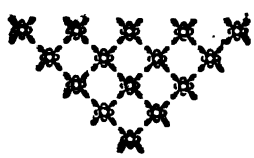
AN

EXPOSTULATION,

ADDRESSED TO

THE BRITISH CRITIC.

BY JACOB BRYANT.



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MDCCXCIX.

PREFACE.

THE following Expostulation had been printed some time; but was not intended to be produced to the World, till another Treatise, with which it was to be accompanied, should be compleated. But as the British Critic has thought proper to select from his Review, and to reprint that part, with which Mr. B. is concerned, and to add to it an Appendix; it seemed proper to hasten the publication of this Apology, that the Author might not be destitute of all defence. Mr. B. has not seen this new Edition of the Review, nor the Appendix; and it was by great chance that he had any intelligence concerning them. Whatever new charges may be there brought, and objections raised, they will probably be found anticipated, and answered, in the course of this Vindication.

AN

EXPOSTULATION,

&c. &c. &c.

IN the British Critic for December 1798, and for February 1799, we find the Vindication of Homer, by Mr. Morritt, supported, and his mistakes countenanced. At the same time, there is such an hostile disposition shewn to the person, whom Mr. Morritt has thought proper to arraign; so much evidence suppressed, and so many wrong inferences made, that it demands an opposite Vindication, in order to maintain the truth. In the prosecution of his purpose the British Critic has continually displayed great asperity, and much undeserved, and unjust censure; equalling in some instances, and in others surpassing, the invective of Mr. Morritt. We must with reluctance add, that many allegations are brought without a single article being produced, upon which they are supposed to be founded. Hence the Reader has no opportunity afforded him of forming a proper judgment. This will continually appear in the course of the Review by the British Critic.

In the page 632, he speaks of the present Century, as drawing towards a conclusion.——In which we are not to contend merely for

the merits of Homer, *but almost for his existence:* and he intimates that these articles have been controverted by Mr. Bryant, *who has challenged all opponents, and dared every species of hostility.* Few have gone farther than Mr. B. in trying to investigate the history of Homer, and his friends, and of his connexions in life. The B. C. p. 641, says, himself,——*Mr. Bryant is of opinion, that he was of an Egyptian, or Ionian, or Milesian family.* How then can the existence of Homer be in any degree questioned by Mr. B? The Treatise, to which the B. C. alludes, is taken up in shewing where the Poet at times resided, together with the principal circumstances of his life, as far as they can be obtained from history: also in displaying his merits, and superior excellence. He is mentioned by Mr. B. as the first of Poets; and his particular beauties are described at large through many pages.

But all this has been overlooked, and an assertion advanced to the contrary, without the least show of evidence: there is not one word to support it. Yet we find this assertion maintained, that not only the Poet's excellence, but his very being is rendered doubtful. In consequence of this, a Vindication has been commenced, to remedy an evil, where there is no grievance; and to prove what was always allowed. The person, accused of debasing the great Poet, has said more in his favour, than the Vindicator ever knew; or the learned Critic perhaps ever considered.

We have seen, that it is farther said, that *Mr. B. has challenged all opponents, and that Mr. M. has accepted the challenge.* But there was none given. Why does the B. C. place things in so unfavourable a light, when he must from his conscience know, that there is nothing to warrant, what he so indiscretely and invidiously asserts? If there was any thing to countenance this assertion, why is it not produced? Let some portion of the Treatise, wherein this arrogance is supposed to appear, or some sentence, or expression, be produced, if any such expression can be found. Mr. Morritt, from what appears, has been too hasty in accepting a challenge, when all was peace, and nothing like a challenge expressed or meditated. How could he take up the gauntlet, before it was thrown down? The world is abused by this instance of defamation, for which there is no proof.

Much to the same purpose we read, that *Mr. B. has dared every species of hostility.* He has perhaps encountered every species of hostility, and from a quarter, whence he little expected it: but that he dared it, or even gave the least provocation, is not true. And here I must ask, as I have asked before, why is there not some instance given; at least some expression, to authenticate, what is affirmed?

We are told, (p. 632,) that Mr. Morritt has behaved *without that prejudice, which Mr. B. imputes to all his Antagonists.* I must ask, as I have asked before, where is it, that Mr. B. has imputed this blindness and partiality to any one person? We have here a severe animadversion without the least evidence to support it. The Person,

who has so unwarily pronounced this censure, did not consider, that the Treatise, wherein this is supposed to be found, is open to all the world, and he must be confuted in the first page. Mention, without doubt, is there made of prejudice, and how much we ought to guard against it: and this has been thought a very proper and interesting piece of advice. It were to be wished, that the Censor had considered it more carefully. But mentioning any evil affection at large, brings no imputation upon those that hear it. If it did, Aristotle, and the best writers upon Ethics, would be found the greatest defamers. If a Person, esteemed an eloquent Preacher, by good judges, should treat of envy, hatred, malice and uncharitableness; he would think it very unjust, if his Audience took it to themselves. He would esteem it very unfair, if they should accuse him of imputing to them every mortal sin. Caution, and imputation are very different: else the Emperor Antoninus, and the Author of the Duty of Man, would be the greatest calumniators in the world.

Surely this licentious mode of writing, and these blind accusations, are very unjustifiable, and should never proceed from persons of liberality and learning: for at this rate what character is safe? A person of the greatest learning, and gentleness of manners, with the best intentions, and these attended with the utmost candour in his writings, may in like manner be accused of audacity and presumption, and of bidding defiance to the whole world. But this is like a Madman scattering firebrands at random, and saying, I am but in sport.

We

We are in the same page greeted with a compliment, and are told, that Mr. M. has carried on his disputation----*certainly with all the candour that is due to Mr. B's acknowledged probity and erudition.* This seems at first very consolatary, and pleasing: but it will be found of little avail: for Mr. B's erudition and probity must be very small, if they are only equal to the candour which Mr. M. has thought due to them. If they are weighed in this balance, they will certainly be found wanting. Let us see, in what estimation he holds Mr. B's probity. He begs of the Reader at first setting out (p. 3.) *to consider and judge whether the statements of Mr. B. are always perfectly fair?* He intimates, that there are quotations *wholly unwarranted: false translations: erroneous transcripts.* He afterwards speaks more openly, and desires the Reader to be upon his guard against Mr. B's deceptions, of which he pretends to afford many instances. He accuses him of wilful perversions; also of absurdity, ignorance, and futility: and represents this person of *acknowledged probity*, as a man of perfidy, and not to be trusted. This has been amply shewn by me in a former Treatise. As to Mr. B's erudition, he gives his opinion of it by saying, that *Mr. B's. knowledge of the subject, with which he is engaged, is merely upon a par with that of the most* [1] *ignorant.* He seldom mentions his name, but with bitterness mixed with contempt. And this the B. C. calls *candour*; and asserts (p. 634.) that *Mr. M's defence is as simple as it is modest.* But heaven preserve me from all

[1] See the Answer to the Vindication, by Mr. B. p. 72. where these articles are enumerated.

such

such specious simplicity, if any such there be: for I never could discover it. If this be candour, then hatred and malignity are virtues. The B. C. therefore is not sufficiently upon his guard, when he asserts this in favour of his friend: no more, than when he says, that *whatever tribute may be due to Mr. B's talents, &c. they are but the trappings and the pageantry of his work.* p. 633. that is, they are like the flags and streamers at an ancient City feast. This is much too contemptuous, and should not have been so indiscretely affirmed. The world will probably think, that whatever chance-compliments may be made, the veil is too thin to cover the disaffection beneath.

In page 634, the Authors, who have believed in the war of Troy, are enumerated by the B. C. from Mr. M's account, to shew the prevalence of his authorities. *The Catalogue at the end of Mr. M's work, gives a list of forty-three Authors,* (and the number might be greatly increased,) *in opposition to three names quoted at second hand, to three Writers in propriâ personâ, to an epigram, and to Mr. Bryant himself; the only Author, that ever imagined that the scene of the Iliad was in Egypt.* The B. C. should have taken care not to place the evidence in so partial and ridiculous a light. Mr. B. had continually mentioned, that not only forty-three Authors, but that the Grecians in general believed the war in question. But at the same time, they added many incredible circumstances, and denied other essential articles, by which they ruined the whole system. Herodotus did not allow that Helen ever was at Troy. The same was maintained by Euripides,

Euripides, as has been shewn. There are other Writers who speak to the same purpose. How is it possible for an army to lie near ten years before a City, to regain a run-away woman, and not to know in all that time, that she was not there? How could the Trojans, in the Poem, refuse to give her up, when required, if they had her not in their possession? Was not Euripides of Hellas as good a judge about a Spartan Lady, as Homer an Asiatic? All these objections were anticipated, and answered, before they were moved: but these answers have been unfairly passed by unnoticed. As to the formidable forty-three, the B. C. at the close, takes off all apprehension from that quarter, by saying——*The question however is to be decided, not by numbers, but by argument.* I wonder therefore, why they were introduced. Let us however attend to his arguments, whenever they are offered.

In page 634, we are told, that Mr. B. objects to the whole Chronology of Greece, prior to the first Olympiad. The learned Critic should take care not to strain, much less pervert, whatever he may disapprove. The words of Mr. B. p. 9, are, that, according to Varro, there is no certain intelligence before that æra. There were various traditions, but so mixed with fable, as to make them very precarious. But it is by no means asserted, that none were to be admitted.

We are after this told, that *he* (Mr. M.) *complains justly in another part of his work, that if the history of the Trojan war is set aside, it abrogates the whole history of Greece, with which it is so interwoven, that*

both

both must stand or fall together. (p. 635.) But I should think, that these apprehensions are quite unnecessary. For this war is said to have been carried on many Centuries before the earliest Historian of Greece existed. How can a subsequent history be affected by an antecedent fable? The rudeness and darkness of one age, cannot obscure the light and learning of another. Night has no effect upon the succeeding dawn. And whereas the B. C. mentions in different places the complaints and indignation of Mr. M. one would imagine, that Mr. B. had written after him, and against him, and been the aggressor. But Mr. B. wrote some time before: when he had not the honour of knowing Mr. M. nor been witness to his modesty and candour.

In p. 635, there is much stress laid upon the seeming consistency of the histories, which relate to the early ages of Greece, and to the genealogies of the persons, who lived in those times. They are said uniformly, and perfectly to correspond. But this is by no means so certain, as many have observed in numberless instances; particularly in the reigns of the Kings of Argos, and Sicyon. Besides, a fable may be made consistent: and we have many Romances, that are very regular in the assortment of the characters, and the circumstances, with which they are attended. This may be seen in plays, both Tragedies, and Comedies; and in Memoirs and Novels. But this regularity and correspondence alone will not ascertain the truth. Yet it is said, that in such cases, though there may be a mixture

of

of fable, *but that the whole should be annihilated, requires the scepticism of a Bolingbroke.* p. 635. It is farther added, that from a list of persons afforded by Pausanias,---*a more regular series might be formed and arranged of these independent states* (of Greece) *than of our own Saxon heptarchy. Let us try the experiment upon the family of Pelops. Tantalus is the son of Jupiter Phrygius, he reigned in Phrygia, and Cappadocia; his son Pelops was driven out of Phrygia by Ilus; he came over into Greece; he married the daughter of Œnomaus, king of Elis; by inheritance or conquest, he obtained the chief power in the Peninsula, and gave it his own name; his family reigned at Mycenæ; their power extended over Corinth, Sicyon, Achaia, and Lacedæmon;------The naval power of Mycenæ extended over many islands in the Ægean sea. Here is a brief history without inconsistence.* (p. 635.) Undoubtedly: for if we leave out every absurdity, we may make any thing plausible. Here is nothing said of Tantalus consorting with the Gods, and divulging their secrets: nor of his being set up to his chin in a pool of water in the shades below, with a large stone, ready to fall, over his head. Nothing is said of his inviting the same Gods to supper, and treating them with his son, the young Cappadocian, in a harrico. Nothing about Ceres, who was at that time in deep distress, yet eat up the poor boy's shoulder. Nor of the boy being put in a kettle over the fire, and again stewed; and of his coming out quite restored, all but that shoulder: in the room of which he had one of ivory.

As to the very extensive rule given to these Monarchs, we may be assured from the best Writers, that it cannot be true. I cannot believe, that Ilus of Ilium could force into Greece a Cappadocian Monarch: nor did any such Monarch exist, as may be seen from the absurdity of his history. I can just as soon assent to the legend of St. George (for he too was a Cappadocian,) and to his killing a a dragon, and freeing a fair Lady. But in saying so much I may possibly act impolitickly: for it will be said, that by setting aside a history, so long established about the dragon, and so well received in my own Country, I ruin the whole history of England, and Cappadocia. If St. George is given up, William the Conquerour and King Harry must go with him, and the history of all nations is endangered.

The kingdoms in early times were small: and if there be any instance in history to the contrary, that history is much to be suspected. This we learn from the opinion of the great Sir Isaac Newton, and of other learned Writers; and above all from the testimony of the Scriptures. And though the B. C. is persuaded, that in the mythic age, *a more regular series might be formed and arranged of the independent States of Greece, than of our own Saxon heptarchy in this kingdom*, it will, I believe, hardly be allowed. He owns, that there is *a mixture of fable*. p. 635. and that mixture consists of a large portion. Among the persons, adduced by him upon this occasion, are Acrisius, Theseus, Peleus, Æacus, and Nestor; whose histories abound with this ingredient:

dient: and he had mentioned Tantalus, the Son of Jupiter Phrygius, and Pelops before. To these he might have added Inachus and Iö, with whom the Grecian History commences, also Perseus and the Gorgon, with Argus, Danae, and a hundred more. All the traditions about these persons abound with incredible [1] circumstances. But the lists of the Kings in the Saxon Heptarchy, are fairly and regularly given: and attended with nothing wonderful. Hengist was not the son of Jupiter Phrygius: nor did Cerdic treat the Gods, and hash his son at a banquet: nor was that son boiled again in a kettle: nor was Rowena deceived by any deity, in a shower of gold. The accounts of Offa and Ina appear plain and equable, nor is there any thing to impeach their credibility. Why then will the learned Critic look up to a history, which begins with fable, in preference to another, in which no fiction is found. Why will he resort to a remote muddy pool, when there is a fountain, much nearer, of pure and genuine waters? The ancient History of Greece is mere Mythology. It is like a wild: and the farther we roam, the more we may be bewildered.

As the learned Critic seems to insist so much upon the connexion, and correspondence in the ancient histories of Greece, it may

1 The history of these Persons is replete with fable. Danaë was the Daughter of Acrisius, into whose bosom Jupiter descended in a shower of gold. Theseus stole the Goddess Proserpine, and was confined in hell, where *sedet æternumque sedebit*. Pelleus married Thetis, a Goddess of the sea. Æacus had an ant hill turned into men: and Nestor lived three ages: and his brother Periclymenus could transform himself into all shapes. At last in a dispute with Hercules, he changed himself into a fly, and as he was buzzing about, the Hero killed him with his club. Ovid says, that he turned himself into an eagle, and scratched the face of Hercules with his claws. Metam. L. 12. v. v. 560.——*laniaverat unguibus ora*.

be proper to proceed farther upon this head, and see if any certainty will result from them. There is undoubtedly a coincidence of circumstances, and a correspondence, in all the principal facts of early date. But as I have before mentioned, truth is not necessarily ascertained by such connexion and correspondence. There is no fable, however gross, and acknowledged to be so, but what is closely connected with some other, as base and as manifest. In the account of the rape of Ganymede, mentioned by various Writers, there is a close connexion with the history of Laomedon, and of Neptune and Apollo, who built the walls of Troy: also with the history of Paris and the golden apple, and of his interview with the three Goddesses upon Ida. To these must be added the intimacy of Venus and Anchises. The history of Hercules has a like correspondence with the brazen bulls of Crete, the brazen footed deer, the many-headed Hydra of Lerna; with Geryon of Spain, who had three bodies; and Nessus, the Centaur, who was half a horse. Take any of the celebrated Personages recorded in these times, and their whole history seems to be made up of fable. Yet they are connected, and coincide with numberless other histories; but still are past all belief. The Arabian Tales at this day, and the Milesian of old, were more plausible. Far more credit is due to Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, and Apollonius of Tyana: for they are more regular and consistent: and, however fabulous, have a greater semblance of truth. It may be said, that the Grecians believed in them; and it must be confessed that they did:

we

we must therefore guard against their credulity. They were so weak, as to look up to them in a religious view, and stated the very years, when these events were said to have happened. They were thought worthy of being marked as Epochas, and fixed periods, by which other chronological histories were determined. The mythologists were so precise, as to state the very years, when these occurrences happened; which at no time took place.

Clemens Alexandrinus gives the following account from the Chronologist Thrasyllus. Strom. L. 1. p. 401.

	Years.
From the burning of Mount Ida to the rape of Ganymede,	55
To the expedition of Perseus, (when he slew the Gorgon)	15
To the building of Troy,	34
To the Argonautic Expedition,	64
To Theseus and the Minotaur,	32
To the Theban War,	10
To the Insitution of the Olympic Games, by Hercules,	3
To the expedition of the Amazons against Athens, and the rape of Helen by Theseus,	9
To the Apotheosis of Hercules,	11
To the rape of Helen by Paris,	4
To the taking of Troy according to Homer,	20

The like histories are mentioned by Africanus, Eusebius, and Tatianus Assyrius; who also take notice of the great conflagration under Phaeton, the arrival of Iö, the Cow; the rape of Europa; the rape of Proserpine; Erichthonius, who was half a serpent; and Cecrops διφυης, a two-fold mortal.

These histories are represented in a regular series: several ancient Authors speak of them; and introduce these events as certain Chronological

nological Epochas; so that there is a strict connexion and correspondence: yet there is hardly a single article, to which we can rationally give credit.

After this the Bill of Attainder proceeds in the following manner. p. 636. *From the general chronology of the house, we will proceed to that of an individual; for Mr. B. says, that Helen must be above an hundred years old at the conclusion of the war; it is very strange, that he should build this upon the authority of Scaliger, Petavius, and Clemens Alexandrinus, when he declares, at the same time, that he places no trust in their deductions.* There is nothing the least strange in this mode of proceeding. Mr. B. is endeavouring to shew the inconsistency of the ancient Chronology of Greece: and to prove this, he must necessarily produce instances of the Chronology, to which he objects: and this he has done from the best Authors. If he thinks, that there was nothing certain before the Olympiads according to Varro, Censorinus, and Justin Martyr, he cannot but doubt of facts, as early as the æra of Helen, and the antecedent ages. He places not the least trust in the lists of the Kings of Argos and Sicyon: but rejects them entirely, as some very learned Persons have done before him. His opinion concerning Helen was not taken only from the three Authors above mentioned, but from a variety of other Writers, whose accounts, with their inconsistences, are improperly by the B. C. suppressed. He mentioned, that she was stolen by Theseus, when she was only seven years old: but by some she was said to be a woman grown, and a

Priestess

Priestess of Diana Orthia. There are Authors, who affirm that she was carried off by Lynceus and Idas. Her Brothers were of the same age: and as they accompanied the Heroes in the Argonautic expedition, they could not be less than twenty-five years: for one of them engaged in fight with Amycus, a man of gigantic strength and stature. By these data, her age, when she was last spoken of, may in some degree be shewn. In this interval from her birth many events with their concomitant years were stated from the best Writers: but these authorities were introduced, not to shew the truth, but the improbability of the history. All these have been overlooked, and a contrary opinion advanced without the least argument to prove it. And here we must consider, that Scaliger and Petavius were two celebrated Chronologists: and the merits of Clemens are well known. If it was strange in Mr. B. to apply to them, when he did not believe that early Chronology; how much more wonderful is it for the B. C. to neglect them, who places such trust in these histories. All the ancient Authors, from whom these Writers obtained their intelligence, must be equally set aside, if this objection be allowed: in whose evidence the B. C. reposes such confidence. We have had in these later days some very eminent Chronologers, such as Marshal, Usher, Marsham, with Petavius and Scaliger, mentioned above. These borrowed from Syncellus, Eusebius, Africanus, Clemens, and other Writers, most of whom wrote not long after the Christian æra. These again studied those, who were still antecedent, and many

of

of ancient date. Some of the principal were Acusilaus, Castor Rhodius, Thallus, Cephalion, Philochorus, Ptolemy Mendesius, Hecatæus Abderites, Eratosthenes, and Thrasyllus.

The B. C. being quite dissatisfied with the evidence of the three very learned persons, Petavius, Scaliger, and Clemens of Alexandria, who are mentioned above, brings in opposition to them Dr. Blair. (p. 636.) He was certainly a respectable man; but whether superiour to those before mentioned, I much doubt. This application of the B. C. is made, in order to diminish the years of Helen, and make her age more plausible. Let us then form some judgment of Dr. Blair's accuracy, from one article out of many in her life. He states the rape of Helen, by Paris, to have happened in the year before Christ, 1198: and the taking of Troy in the year 1184. The difference is fourteen years. This is supposed to be the interval from her first coming to Troy, to the last year of her abode there, when the city was taken. But according to Homer, this cannot be right: for in the Ilias Ω. v. 765, he introduces her saying—

Ηδη γαρ νυν μοι τοδε εικοσ-ον ετος εστιν,
Εξ ου κειθεν εβην, και εμης απεληλυθα πατρης.

Now twice ten years, unhappy years, are o'er,
Since Paris brought me to the Trojan shore. POPE.

Nothing can be more explicit; and the difference between Dr. Blair and Homer amounts to six years in twenty; which answer to 30 in 100;

100; and 300 in a 1000. These verses were quoted by Mr. B. in his Treatise; and proper inferences were made from them; which will appear perhaps incredible to the reader: but they stand fair to view, p. 31. and the neglect and omission of them is by no means justifiable. Much more evidence upon this head was stated; particularly from Clemens and Thrasyllus. From these and other Authors it was shewn, that her Brother Castor, who was of her age, could not be less, than twenty-five at the Argonautic Expedition: which Expedition was 89 years before the ruin of Troy. And as she was seen in full beauty at the Court of Menelaus, she could not be less than 124 at that season. No, says the B. C. *she was but 44 at most, when the city was taken; and fifty four at most when Telemachus saw her still beautiful as a Goddess at the court of Sparta. Women, it must be confessed, are usually ungoddessed at that age, but we have instances in our days, that all do not lose their attractions.* p. 637. If the B. C's friend Mr. M. thinks of marrying a beauty, I would advise him not to stay so long. The Lady will certainly be ungoddessed before that time. He supposes Penelope to have been of the same age, but whence he got his intelligence he does not acquaint us. p. 637.

What could lead the Author to form an opinion (p. 637.) that the ancient population of Greece was greater before the war of Troy, than it was found to be several centuries afterwards; when he had so little information concerning it? He farther supposes, that this great population originated from the inhabitants residing *in small towns, or*

rather villages, and not in fenced cities; which, he thinks, were not calculated for any such increaſe. But the best Historians inform us, that they did abide in Cities, large and powerful; and that they were very numerous. Homer mentions the same, and specifies some of the chief from Corinth, and the Isthmus downward; such as Trachyn, Trœzen, Tiryns, Hermione, Epidaurus, Argos, Elis, Messene, Sicyon, Pylos, together with many others. Above the Peloponnesus were Athens, Megara, Thebes, Platæa, with a great number more in Locris, Thessaly, and Phocis: which appear to have been very ancient; consequently long before the war of Troy. I do not place any confidence in the history of their ancient kings, and of their great atchievements, as mentioned by different Writers: but they, who do trust to these Writers, must abide by their determination. In consequence of this, it will be difficult to find out, when the people lived chiefly in hamlets and villages, and hence to prove this great population. The B. C. I am afraid, will be confuted upon his own evidence: for he maintains (p. 635.) that a large kingdom was formed, and a naval power established; also many islands subdued, as early as the reign of Œnomaus, the father in law of Pelops. This kingdom cannot be supposed to have consisted of scattered villages: nor could a naval power have been hence produced. So far from living in general, as has been represented, in places void of defence: the people thought themselves not secure in Cities without walls. Hence we are informed, that when Amphion and his Brother built Thebes in Bœotia,

Bœotia, they were obliged to fortify it, though they were persons of uncommon prowess.

Οἱ πρωτοι Θηβης ἑδος εκτισαν ἑπταπυλοιϛ,
Πυργωσαν τ'· επει ϗ μεν απυργωτον γ' εδυναντο
Ναιεμεν ευρυχορον Θηβην, κρατερω περ εοντε. Odyss. Λ. v. 262.

These two Brothers first built Thebes with it's seven gates, and fortified it with Towers. For however brave and stout they may have been, they could not venture to inhabit the City without walls and bulwarks. Mycenæ, Tiryns, Trachyn, Calydon are mentioned as fortified Cities: the word πολις is said to signify πολις πυργοις αραρυια. The very epithet given by the Grecians to Mars shews, how common they were at the æra mentioned.

Αρες, Αρες, βροτολοιγε, μιαιφονε, τειχεσιπλητα. Il. E. 31.

But that I may not misrepresent the Author's purpose, or his words, I will lay the whole passage, with which we are here concerned, in full view before the Reader. *Mr. Bryant is not content with asserting the incredibility of collecting the army which Agamemnon commanded, but he denies the possibility of finding such a number of troops in so early an age; in answer to this, Mr. M. justly observes, that an uncivilized state of society is much more likely to produce armies of great magnitude, than a period after civilization has taken place. He instances the northern swarms which overwhelmed the Roman Empire; and he might have added the Tartar invasions, in all ages; the conquests of the Persians, and those of the Arabians in the first ages of*

Mahommedism. But Greece, if we take the picture of it from Homer, was in a situation of all others the most conducive to the increase of the human species. The people were not yet crouded into great cities for protection, or driven into them for the interest of their more powerful neighbours. But they were spread loosely over the whole surface of the country, living in small towns, or rather villages, which are as favourable to population, as great cities are noxious. This is likewise some proof, that, notwithstanding the predatory excursions of the age, society was comparatively in a state of safety; for in times of danger, the villages cease, and the cities are crowded. p. 637.

The Author says at the beginning, that Mr. M. has *justly observed:* but I am afraid, there will be found no justness, nor propriety in his observation. Mr. Morritt had mentioned the vast army under Brennus, of three hundred thousand men: and other immense bodies of people, which at times came from the north, and overran the southern world. But as I have said in a former Treatise, we must not only consider the great numbers, but the regions whence they came. Gaul, and Germany were of large extent; and the regions of the Scythians, Tartars and Huns immense: in respect to which the whole of Greece bore a very small [1] proportion. The three hundred thousand men under Brennus will not warrant the one hundred thousand given to Agamemnon, nor make the history plau-

[1] Hæc cuncta Græcia, quæ famâ, quæ gloriâ, quæ doctrinâ, quæ plurimis artibus, quæ etiam imperio et bellicâ laude floruit, parvum quendam locum Europæ tenet. Cicero Orat. pro Flacco. C. 27. p. 492. Gronov.

sible.

sible. The regions of which we have been speaking, were ten times, and probably twenty times, as large as Hellas. Nor did these great and repeated migrations arise from the Countries being civilized, or uncivilized: but (whatever may have been the cause of the increase) from the overplus of people in those parts of the world. This was so great, that they were obliged to leave their native Country, and seek for settlements in other regions. Of this we have good accounts in Procopius, Paulus Warnefred and Iornandes; also in Writers antecedent to them. We have seen that the B. C. supposes, that there was of old a like increase in the Grecian provinces, before the war of Troy: and that this arose from people not being *yet crouded into great cities:* for he says, that *they were spread loosely over the whole surface of the country, living in small towns, or rather villages.* p. 637. But I have mentioned many Cities, which existed at that time, and long before: and many more are to be found in the Catalogue of Homer. They amount to a great number, and seem to have been very ancient. The Kings of Argos from Inachus downward amount to fifteen, and the Kings of Sicyon, during the space of 962 years, to twentysix; which intimates, that these Cities were of high antiquity, according to the histories transmitted concerning them. I must own, that I give no credit to these lists of Princes: but those, who do admit them, and the histories with which they are attended, must abide by this evidence. At all rates it is manifest, that the regions of Greece abounded with Cities: and that the people did not live

loosely

loosely scattered over the face of the Country in small Towns, or Villages: the Catalogue above referred to plainly shews it. What seems one of the most extraordinary things, that I ever in writing experienced, is the following article. For the B. C. after he has mentioned that the Grecians before the Trojan war lived scattered abroad over the face of the Country, and were not *yet* cooped up in Cities, applies to this very Catalogue of the Poet, and makes inferences from those numerous Cities. He acts however with an undue reserve, and calls them only *places*, by which he seems to intimate that they were villages. *Examine*, he says (p. 637.) *the catalogue of Homer with the assistance of Eustathius, Strabo, and Pausanias, and you find more names of places, than his commentators can find situations to receive.* But by the Poet, as well as by Pausanias, and Strabo, we shall find these places described, as Cities, and many of them large, and of great antiquity. To this the B. C. adds—*Try the experiment upon Bœotia, and judge whether the population is not self-evidently more numerous in that age than in the historical period, when Thebes was become the sole potentate?* The learned Writer speaks of self-evidence, where there does not appear any probability. I must besides confess, that I do not know the time, here spoken of, when Thebes was the sole Potentate: I can recollect, when it was in high power. But that the population of the Country, was greater at the æra of Troy, and before it, than it was at the time of its greatest glory, is by no means self-evident, nor demonstrable, nor even probable;

nor

nor can the Writer bring the least evidence for the notion. And here we must observe, that in this part of his argument he endeavours to shew the population of the Country from Thebes and other numerous Cities mentioned by the Poet, which he before tried to prove from there being no Cities at all; or at least from people *not being cooped up in them, but living loosely abroad.* This will appear to many as not quite consistent. And when he styles the Cities, enumerated by the Poet, *places*, it seems to be an improper evasion. They are mentioned in the list, and occasionally called πτολιεθρα, and ευ ναιομενα πτολιεθρα. There are some others not there mentioned, which occur afterwards in the ninth Book. We find these described as near Elis; and they were offered as a present to Achilles. They are six in number, and called ευ ναιομενα πτολιεθρα, *Cities well inhabited.* This seems to invalidate the notion of the people being dissipated, and of the argument, which was founded upon it.

It is remarkable, that the B. C. himself, when he speaks of the wide rule of Pelops, the grandson of Jupiter Phrygius, takes notice of several Cities, such as Elis, Pylos, Corinth, Sicyon, also of Lacedæmon and Mycenæ, over all which Pelops reigned. (p. 635.) We must therefore recur to our former question, and ask, how could the people reside only in villages, if there were ſo many cities? For if they existed, they must have been inhabited. The only expedient, which can be easily devised, to extenuate these seeming inconsistences, is to say, that he did not mean, that there were absolutely no Cities;

but

but that the people, who did not dwell in them, resided in Villages, loosely scattered abroad. But this is the case in almost all civilized states; and the argument for this wonderful population is rendered quite void. How could there be this very extraordinary augmentation, if there was nothing extraordinary to produce it? How can we insist upon a particular increase in any nation, if it had no more pretensions to it than its next neighbour? for where do we find Cities without a proportion of Villages? It is idle to suppose a different effect from the same premises.

I should be very sorry to increase any difficulty, or to render what is doubtful more obscure: much less would I misrepresent any the least article in the course of reasoning, which the B. C. any where pursues. On this account I have taken great pains to discover the true purport of his arguments, but am not always so fortunate, as to find it. He has applied, as we have seen to Homer, who shews, how numerous the Cities were in Greece; and yet he has told us, as we have before seen, that, *if we take the picture from this Poet, the people were not yet crouded into great cities for protection: But they were spread loosely over the whole surface of the country, living in small towns, or rather villages, which are as favourable to population, as great cities are noxious.* p. 637. But we have seen, that no such inference can be made from the Poet; who gives a far different account of the people and their residence. The Author however forms the following conclusion from the premises. *This is likewise some proof,*

proof, that notwithstanding the predatory excursions of the age, society was comparatively in a state of safety. What is here brought as a proof, wants itself to be proved; and is void of all foundation. From the reigns of Inachus, and Phoroneus, to the time of the Trojan war, there is no account of the people being thus scattered abroad: nor of there being no Cities, or Cities not properly inhabited, as is above presumed. Yet upon these inconclusive principles the Writer is led to determine, that, notwithstanding the predatory excursions, the defenceless people were in a comparative state of safety. What is meant by *comparatively* I know not: Thucydides, and Plutarch mention, that Greece in those early times was overrun with thieves, and banditti; and with wandering Pelasgi. Plut. in Theseo. Thucyd. L. 1. p. 2, 3. There was no peace to him, that went out, or came in. Many did not sow, because they knew not who would reap. Thucyd. L. 1. C. 2. p. 3. How could security exist amidst continual danger; and among a people, if they were without defence, and open to every inroad? The whole of these fanciful arguments depends upon a theory void of all foundation. And to what purpose was all this refined labour taken? It was to shew, that this way of life, when people dwelt not in Cities, but in defenceless hamlets, was particularly conducive to population. Hence it is thought, that a good reason may be given for the large army under Agamemnon, which consisted of a hundred thousand men. But whether this will be deemed satisfactory, I much question.

Though the whole history of Troy is a fable, yet thoſe, who believe in this history, must abide by the purport; and form their judgment from the evidence, which the Poet has afforded. The learned Critic, to prove the extent of Agamemnon's dominions, and to account for the numerous army under his command, observes in a note, (p. 638.) that Homer in a particular verse seems *to include all Argolis, or in a larger sense, all Peloponnesus,* under his rule. For it was his lot,

Πολλησι νησοισι, και Αργει παντι ανασσειν. Il. B. v. 108.

This is certainly interpreted by the Scholiast παντος Αργους, ὁλης της Πελοποννησου. ibid. The history, to which the Poet here primarily alludes, is of a sceptre, which was derived from Jupiter, and with which Agamemnon maintained his sovereignty at Troy. Here he had full command, and I have sometimes thought, that the line above related to this absolute command there: for it does not appear to have existed any where else. Thus much is certain, that Homer speaks in his Catalogue of six Provinces in the Peloponnesus, with their chief Cities, Argos, Lacedæmon, Mycenæ, Pylus, Orchomenos in Arcadia, Buprasium and Elis; and over one province only out of the six had Agamemnon any dominion. The Islands Salamis, Ithaca, Dulichium, and Cephallene were equally independent. These states, and their rulers, are particularised in the Catalogue of Homer (Il. B.) and stand obvious; yet it is supposed, that Agamemnon ruled over the whole region. It is farther said by the B. C. that Argos was in some degree dependent upon Agamemnon's Capital Mycenæ. This is not a proper assertion: for

it

it was neither in some degree, nor at all, subservient to that City. This is manifest from the same Catalogue, which seems to have been greatly neglected: and the Poet's own evidence has been totally disregarded. In the Cities allotted to Agamemnon, the name of Argos does not occur. In its proper place it is to be found with Hermione, Trœzen, Epidaurus, and other Cities: and they are determinately said to have been under the dominion of Diomede.

Συμπαντων ἡγειτο βοην αγαθος Διομηδης. Il. B. v. 567.

The Poet speaks of Agamemnon's power in his own Country, as superiour to the rule of other kings: yet still as limited: and he never, I believe, styles him any thing more, than βασιληα πολυχρυσοιο Μυκηνης. Il. I. v. 44. H. v. 180. As soon as the war was over, when Troy had been taken, he appears to have lost his antecedent command; the whole army got intoxicated, and behaved μαψ, ατερ θ κατα κοσμον. He was disobeyed by his own Brother, and deserted by most of the other Princes, who went away without him. See Odyss. Γ. v. 140, &c.—Among these were Nestor, Diomede, and Menelaus.

Still this opinion of wide extensive rule is carried on: and we are told in the same page l. 35, that *the only Territories in the Peloponnesus not dependent* (upon Agamemnon) *seem to be Pylos and Elis.* But Homer gives a very different account: and when he mentions above fifty Cities in these parts, he assigns only eleven to this Monarch. See Il. B. v. 569, &c. Had there been out of these Cities, which he enume-

rates, more that belonged to him, they would not have been appropriated to any other person. Hence from the Poet's own evidence it is manifest, that the dominion of Agamemnon was far less, than has been stated. See the Ilias B. v. 559, &c.

In addition to these accusations we find some fears entertained, and fatal consequences apprehended from the System of Mr. B. It is accordingly said p. 634: that *if Homer's pictures of the plain of Troy were fictitious, his scene might be transferred to Egypt or to India.* Again p. 642. *If, as he says, there was no Troy in Asia, but Ilium only, does it not follow, that he must annihilate Simois, Scamander, Tenedos, Samos, Lesbos, and all the places in the vicinity, as well as Troy itself?* We see here two different consequences suspected to ensue from the fatal process above. One is, that all the places of Troas will be annihilated: and the other, that they may be possibly transferred to the Indus. But these fears are needless. It is said of Trojan Brutus that he came to Britain, and brought some persons with him; and that he built here Troynovante. But it was a mere Fable, and I believe, there is not the least credit given to it in these times. But this fable being set aside, does not make void Albion, and Britain: nor the Islands Vectis or Mona; nor the Humber, Thames, and Sabrina. They all exist, and are acknowledged. The fable has neither ruined their history, nor transferred them to another Climate. These apprehensions are therefore groundless. If one man tells a lie of another: that other is not necessarily annihilated, nor sent to Botany Bay: it would

would be hard, if he were. In short a shadow cannot operate upon a substance: it must remain unimpaired. Yet many have gone so far, as to insist, that all history, profane, and sacred, must be highly injured, if our faith is shaken in respect to the Tale of Troy. Not only Gods, and Heroes; but even Kings, Sages, and Lawgivers run the hazard of being swept away. For what can we believe, if we can not trust in the history of Troy? I have before said—*Trust in any thing, and every thing, that is better authenticated.*

We have been told above that *an uncivilized state of society is much more likely to produce armies of great magnitude, than a period after civilization has taken place.* p. 637. And it is intimated, that *Greece if we take the picture from Homer was in a situation* (when the great armament was made) *of all others the most conducive to the increase of the human species.* It was therefore by Mr. Morritt's own account in an uncivilized state. He accordingly explains his principle, by describing the Grecians at this season, as *an infant people* (p. 6.) *Agriculture was neglected and Commerce unknown. The petty Chieftains were engaged in a freebooting warfare,*——they were *days of piratical violence:* when there was *little communication between the Provinces.* (p. 8.) Such was the barbarous state of Greece at the period mentioned. But, what is not easy to be comprehended, we are informed soon after, (p. 19.) that it was by no means in such a situation. We are accordingly told by Mr. M. that *We should reflect, that soon after the Trojan wars, Greece underwent a cruel revolution. The thrones of the Peloponnesus were completely overturned:*

overturned: Mycenæ, Argos, and Lacedæmon, underwent a variety of changes; —and the manners, and civilization of Greece, of which Homer is at once a witness and a proof, were thrown back into a barbarism, from which neither their arts nor sciences emerged till the age of the Pisistratidæ, which immediately preceeded the time of the Persian war. (Morritt. p. 19.) These changes were just after the war of Troy. And if Arts, and Sciences were then thrown back, and ruined, they must have antecedently existed, and cultivation have prevailed. But then what becomes of the argument for the population of the Country, and the great army under Agamemnon? These depended upon the rudeness of the people; who were represented as Rustics, uncivilized themselves, and surrounded by Banditti still more barbarous. Hence arises a strange paradox, and seeming inconsistency, which the B. C. should have explained, as he so uniformly upholds Mr. Morritt.

Of this unfortunate change for the worse (if we comprehend the Author's meaning) we are told, that *Homer is at once a witness and a proof.* The Poet has given us an account of Greece at the time mentioned, and before it: but not a word of any change afterwards; nor could he: for his poem is confined to that æra. Nor can the Poet be introduced, as a proof, or witness, of any falling off afterwards; or any change in his own time: for his noble poems shew, that Science was improving greatly. His excellence is superlative: and the only inference that can be made from his internal evidence must be, that the times which produced so much knowledge and genius, could not

be

be so rude, as represented. To bring him as a proof of dulness, and depravity, is to make the Sun a symbol of chaotic darkness.

Thus have we seen from the accounts afforded above, these strange notions maintained: that Greece at the time of the Trojan war, and before it, was in a rude, and uncivilized state; and a wonderful population was the consequence of it. We have also been told by the same Person, that the Country was not so rude as represented. On the contrary from a great change, which ensued, it appears to have been very civilized. We have seen likewise, that the people lived in a state of security, and at the same time in continual danger from the number of Thieves and Pirates, that surrounded them. That they lived in villages loosely scattered; and not cooped up in Cities: and that they lived in Cities, ancient, and so numerous, that in some provinces it was difficult for Commentators to arrange them according to their history. I am by these means brought into a labyrinth, from which I know not how to extricate myself. I have read some of Aristotle's Metaphysics: I have looked into Norris's Ideal World: I have considered carefully Bishop Wilkin's Voyage to the Moon: and I have studied the Act upon Income; but I was never half so much embarrassed with these, as with the argumentation above.

There seems to have been a farther mistake, and of some consequence, concerning the supposed obscurity which came upon Greece after the Trojan æra; and the gradual deficiency in manners, and knowledge. This is said to have lasted to the time of the Pisistratidæ, which

which was just before the Persian war. But between this æra and the War of Troy, a long interval intervened: and in that space, a number of persons of great fame and learning, at different times appeared. Such were the Poets Hesiod, Tyrtæus, Telesilla, Hipponax, Sappho, Alcæus, Simonides, Theognis, Stesichorus; and the Philosophers, Solon, Lycurgus, Bias, Periander, Pittacus, Anaximander, . naximenes, Pythagoras, Thales: to whom a great many more might be added. These will be found to have flourished before the time of the Persian war, or of the sons of Pisistratus: and many of them were far antecedent. Hence so far from there being a continual tendency to darkness and ignorance, from the æra mentioned, there appears to have been a gradual improvement, and increase of knowledge.

I had mentioned in my Treatise upon Troy (p. 144.) that I had reason to believe, that Homer was of an Ionian family; but born in Ithaca. However, if any Person should entertain an opinion, that he was of a Grecian family in Egypt, there *was much evidence to countenance such belief.* These were my sentiments. In respect to Ithaca the B. C. denies the possibility, and says, *surely not.* And the reason, which he gives, is this. *If Ithaca spoke the language of the continent, to which it was attached, the language of Epirus was Doric; the Graii from whom the Latins received their language and the name of it, with the name of the people, were inhabitants of Epirus. And the Latin language still preserves the Doric forms of inflexion without knowing any thing of the Ionic. But if Ithaca used the dialect of Epirus, that must be Doric also.* (p. 642.

(p. 642.) I shall not presume to examine these assertions concerning this particular Dialect; nor the inferences made from it. I am indeed not competent. I would only ask, why a person, who settles in any place, may not preserve his own dialect, and even his own language, and write according to the idiom of his fathers? Cannot a person in Malta write French or Italian instead of the Maltese language, or English in Britanny, or in Wales? I do not perceive the force of this argument. Besides there seems to be a great mistake in respect to Geography: and if my apprehensions are wrong, I shall be glad to have them rectified. The B. C. speaks above of a region of Epirus, to which he says, that *the Island Ithaca was attached.* But this surely is a great mistake; and no such attachment between these two places ever existed. A great interval lay between, and prevented any such connexion. Above Ithaca was a part of the region of Achaia; the Gulf of Corinth; the coast of Acarnania, Leucate and Actium; and at last the coast of Phæacia, and Chaonia, the same as Epirus. It was a part of the world famous for the temple of Jupiter at Dodona: and the region, where Pyrrhus afterwards reigned. The situation of these places may be found accurately determined by Strabo, and Ptolemy, and even by the Poet Virgil in his voyage of Æneas.

Effugimus scopulos Ithacæ, Laertia regna,
Et terram altricem sævi execramur Ulyssis.
Mox et Leucatæ nimbosa cacumina montis,
Et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.

* * * * * * * * *

Protinus aerias Phæacum abscondimus arces,
Littoraque Epiri legimus, portuque subimus
Chaonio. Æneid. L. 3. v. 272, &c.

The Kingdom of Epirus was of great extent, and we are informed by Ptolemy, that Paulus Æmilius, in the war with Perseus of Macedon, took no less than seventy Cities in that Region. Strabo. L. 7. p. 496. It is not mentioned by name any where in the Ilias: but Dodona, a principal part of it, is taken notice of, more than once, as well as some neighbouring Cities. There is not any dominion given here to Ulysses of Ithaca; on the contrary, Gonneus is made the Commander, who joins the Confederates with no less than twenty two ships; whereas Ulysses brought no more than twelve: who had not the least connexion, as far as we can judge, with this Country.

Γουνευς δ' εκ Κυφω ηγε δυω και εικοσι νηας—Τω δ' εποντο
Οι περι Δωδωνην δυσχειμερον οικι' εθεντο. Il. B. 750.

The situation of Ithaca may be in some degree determined by Dulichium and the Echinades, which were near it.

Νησων, αι ναιουσι περην ἁλος Ηλιδος αντα. Il. B. 626.

We find, that they are described, as opposite to the kingdom of Elis. There is another passage in Homer (Odyss. B. v. 434.) where the situation of Ithaca in respect to the Peloponnesus is very clearly pointed out. We may be assured, that it was far from Epirus and Dodona; and equally certain that it was opposite to Achaia, and somewhat

what above Pylos and Elis, the two Cities of Nestor. To the former of these Telemachus is represented, as making a visit in order to get some intelligence about his father. He set out in a ship by night very late; when all the people of his Island were fast asleep. And it is said of the Vessel,

Παννυχιη μεν ρ' ηγε, και ηω ωειρε κελευθον. Odyss. L. B. v. 434.

They sailed all night to the dawn of day. Ηελιος δ' ανορυσε: *at last the sun rose,* Οι δε Πυλον ιξον, *and they arrived at Pylos.* Odyss. Γ. init. and were there entertained, till the close of day. How near the Island was to the Continent, may be seen by the time taken up in their course to it. It is unfortunate for the B. C. that he did not consider the true situation of Ithaca; for if there were any validity in his argument about the Doric dialect, he need not have gone so far as to Epirus to prove his notion. There was a region much nearer, where the purest Doric was the language of the people.

I was sometime in doubt, whence this mistake could have arisen. But looking over the Catalogue of Homer, where the Islands, and people, that belonged to Ulysses, are mentioned, I observed among other articles the name of Epirus. This has been mistaken for the Region above mentioned, to which Ithaca was thought to be attached. The people, who were under the dominion of this Hero, and their places of abode, are introduced in the following manner.

Οι ρ' Ιθακην ειχον, και Νηριτον εινοσιφυλλον,

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Οι τε Ζακυνθον εχον, ηδ' οι Σαμον αμφενεμοντο.
Οι τ' Ηπειρον εχον, ηδ' αντιπεραι' ενεμοντο,
Των μεν Οδυσσευς ηρχε. Il. B. 632.

The purport is, that the people under Ulysses were those, who inhabited Ithaca, Neritus, Zacynthus, Samos, and Epirus, and other places opposite to the Continent of the Peloponnesus. The Scholiast informs us—Αντιπεραια, τα εξεναντιας της Ηλιδος κειμενα χωρια. *The places, which lay opposite to Elis.*

This Epirus has been sometimes looked upon as a part of the opposite Continent, and near Elis; but it seems rather to have been in the vicinity of Ithaca, and an Island, notwithstanding the common purport of the name. In the Odyssea there are several allusions to this place, which was distinguished from the Region above mentioned by the name of Epirus (Μελαινη) *Melæna*. Telemachus, speaking of his Mother's excellence, says, that there was not such another woman to be found in Achaia, or Pylos; or in Argos, or Mycenæ; no, not in Ithaca, or Epirus Melæna.

Ουτ' αυτης Ιθακης, ουτ' Ηπειροιο Μελαινης. Odyss. Φ. 109.

By the Islands, and Cities, with which it is accompanied, we may judge, that it lay nearly opposite to the region of Elis, and very near to Ithaca, to which it was subject. The like information may be obtained from another passage in the Poet: where Eumæus is describing to Ulysses the rapacity of Penelope's Lovers, and the great expence incurred.

incurred. And he shews it by saying, that the wealth of the richest persons in Ithaca, and in Epirus Melæna, would not suffice:

———————ϑτ' Ηπειροιο Μελαινης, Odyss. Ξ. v. 97.
Ουτ' αυτης Ιθακης.----

Upon this the Scholiast observes, concerning the term Ηπειροιο,---της αντικρυ Ιθακης: *It was over against the Island Ithaca.* Some have thought, that it was called Same, and also Asteria: but this is of no great consequence. It is manifest from the account afforded, that this Epirus was a subordinate Island, and its situation in respect to the region above is past contradiction distinguished: and it is plain, that there was no connexion. It appears to have been an Island, from the Commentators referring it to places of that denomination: one of whom speaks of it----κατ' αντικρυ Κεφαλληνιας, *over against Cephalenia.* ibid. 97. We may judge likewise, that it was a place of pasture from the number of flocks and herds, which it afforded for the Suitors,

Δωδεκ' εν Ηπειρῳ αγελαι, τοσα ϖωεα οιων, ibid. 100.

If it should be thought to be a part of the opposite Continent, it still was very near; and we are then taught, that the dominions of Ulysses extended farther than is generally supposed.

From this determination of the place in question, we find that there has been a great deal of refined theory framed, and unnecessarily introduced. The inferences made from the Doric dialect of the Region of Epirus, and *of the Graii, from whom the Latins received their language,*

language, and the name of it, with the name of the people; and of the Latin language preserving the Doric forms of inflexion, without knowing any thing of the Iönic, (p. 642.] will never prove that Homer was not a native either of Egypt, or of Ithaca. And whereas it is surmised, that the Latines were beholden for their language to the Graii of the Kingdom of Epirus, I do not believe, from the time of honest ancient Latinus to the first Consulate at Rome, that the name of the Graii, or of Epirus, was known to the Romans: much less was any correspondence allowed. Dionysius of Halicarnassus makes mention of the Siculi, Pelasgi, Lydians, and of several Grecian colonies, coming to Italy; but of Epirus and the Graii not one word. In short the Kingdom of Epirus consisted of three particular people, the Thesprotians, Molossi, and Chaonians: Χαονια, ἡ μεση της Ηπειρϐ. The latter were the most known. They are by Scymnus Chius said to have been ϐαρϐαροι.: that is, not of Grecian race.

Επειτα Θεσπρωτων τε και των Χαονων
Εθνη κατοικει ϐαρϐαρα.

Hence, if we may believe this Author, they were so far from using the Doric dialect, that they did not speak the Greek language. Thucydides also more than once mentions Χαονες ϐαρϐαροι. L. 2. C. 80. p. 149. C. 2. p. 142. C. 81. p. 151. Yet from this part of the world the Romans are above supposed to have borrowed the Greek language, and the Doric dialect.

The

The B. C. after this says, *If then Homer is neither an Egyptian nor a native of Ithaca, let us revert to Asia Minor.* p. 642. But the articles here taken for granted, have by no means been proved. The B. C. however thinks otherwise, and proceeds to shew, that we may be certain that he was of Asia Minor, and of either Smyrna, Chios, or Colophon. This he thinks will appear, if we consider the observations of a late Traveller. *Mr. Wood*, he says, *has with great acuteness observed, that the winds noticed by Homer and their effects, all conspire to prove that he describes what he saw; and that the characters of these winds all belong to the coast of Asia, and to no other.* p. 642. As the Poet mentions at times the other winds, I cannot see, how it is possible to make them correspond particularly with the coast, of which he speaks, and with no other. He however quotes two lines in order to establish his notion.

Ὡς δ' ανεμοι δυο πουτον ορινετον ιχθυοεντα,
Βορεης και Ζεφυρος, τω τε Θρηκηθεν αητον. Il. I. 4.

Here are described two stormy winds, Boreas and Zephyrus, which raise the sea to a ferment, and which come from Thrace. And this point, whence they come, is thought to be applicable to the coast of Æolis and Ionia only. The Scholiast remarks somewhat shrewdly—Πως αμφοτερας εκ Θρακης φησι πνειν; The Cities above mentioned are so situated, that we cannot, without giving a very great latitude to the north wind, suppose, that it could blow from Thrace upon their coaſt, near Colophon or Smyrna. The description of such a storm, Θρηκηθεν,

is

is more applicable to most Islands in the Ægean sea: particularly to Samothrace, Imbrus, Thasus, Lemnos, down to the Cyclades, and Eubœa. This wind was, from the point and region above, whence it proceeded, called the Thracian wind in Hellas. We can therefore no more from the direction of this wind determine any of these Asiatic Cities to have been the birth-place of the Poet, than any of the Grecian Islands. We cannot appropriate to one, what is common to many. And whereas it is said, that *the winds noticed by Homer, and their effects, and characters—all belong to the coast of Asia, and no other*; it must be a mistake. Homer takes notice of all the cardinal, and contrary winds; which we cannot suppose to blow solely upon Asia Minor. He speaks of storms raised by the North and South, and by the East and West winds: the birth-place of Homer can never be hence determined.

Ὡς Ευρος τε Νοτος τ' εριδαινετον αλληλοισιν. Il. Π. 765.
—Ὡς ὁποτε Ζεφυρος νεφεα συφελιξῃ
Αργεσταο Νοτοιο, βαθειῃ λαιλαπι τυπτων. Λ. 306.
Αυταρ εγω Ζεφυροιο και αργεσταο Νοτοιο
Εισομαι εξ ἀλοθεν. Φ. 334.
----------κυματα μακρα θαλασσης
Ποντῳ Ικαριοιο, τα μεν τ' Ευρος τε Νοτος τε
Ωρορ' επαΐξας. B. v. 144.

Thrace was looked upon as the station of the North Wind Boreas, being esteemed a very cold Region, whence this Wind was, by the Athenians and by the Poets, styled Thracius. Here was the central point,

point, whence he was supposed to blow, not upon Asia Minor only, but in all directions downward. He is accordingly invoked in the Orphic Hymns under this character.

Κρυμοπαγης Βορεα, χιονωδεος ελθ' απο Θρηκης. Hymn. 79.

We have seen among the verses quoted from Homer (Il. B. v. 145.) the South and East winds also introduced, in a Simile, as upon the same coast, and raising a storm in the Icarian sea. But the place of Homer's residence, or nativity, cannot be determined by Similes. Yet the B. C. thinks he has discovered it; and adds—*If then this be the country of Homer, let us next enquire for his city.* p. 643. But we are much, I fear, too quick. For though in speaking of the winds this aphorism is urged, that *Homer describes what he saw,* or rather what he felt; and this may be true, if he spoke from his own knowledge, yet we ought to know, where that experience took place, before we can form any judgment. But the whole notion is founded in mere fancy; and the Country cannot from these data be possibly discovered.

We find (p. 639.) a charge brought against Mr. B. in large characters, of Misrepresentations of cited passages. As this is an accusation of great consequence; and, if true, must bring deserved disgrace upon the person accused, we may fairly suppose, that the B. C. will produce the passages misquoted, and abused; and lay them at large before the Reader: and at the same time shew the truth. This the Person accused has a right to demand, and the World, I should think,

would expect it. The beginning is as follows. *It is a serious thing to bring such a charge, against a man of Mr. B's acknowledged probity, as a neglect of veracity.* I must stop here to observe, that so far from being a serious thing, it is the most ridiculous thing, that can be imagined. For what can be more preposterous, than to suppose a man of probity can possibly want veracity? Truth and falshood can never be combined. Non bene conveniunt. We may as well suppose, that a Woman of Virtue can be void of chastity: or a man of morality destitute of common honesty.

This imputation of falshood in the man of acknowledged probity did not, it seems, originate in Mr. Morritt; for we are told, that *Mr. M. with candour equal to his judgment avoids it.* p. 639. It is therefore a pity, that the British Critic had not with equal candour and judgment omitted it. Why, in the name of goodness, if it did not exist, was it introduced? And here I must take the liberty to remark, that if Mr. M's judgment is only equal to his candour, it cannot be very extensive. For that candour has seldom been displayed in Mr. B's favour. On the contrary, he has experienced much defamation, and invective, as has been repeatedly shewn. Something of a like tendency may be found in the following lines of the British Critic, where he speaks of Mr. B's *fondness for an hypothesis of his own raising.—It is this that warps his judgment from the strait line of consistency; and makes Mr. B. see those facts in the authorities he appeals to, which no one can discover but himself.——It is on this ground that Mr. M. complains*

of

of unfairness (observable in Mr. B.) *in the citation from Varro and Justin Martyr.* p. 639. Why should Mr. M. complain? The articles mentioned were not addressed to him, nor in opposition to him: nor had Mr. B. as has been said before, the honour of knowing him even by name. In the next place, what is the fault mentioned: in what article does the unfairness consist? Let us know the crime, and then subjoin some proof. Neither Mr. M. nor the B. C. after him, have produced the passage for the Reader's inspection, nor given a better translation. This was their duty: but it was not in their power. The Reader therefore must be surprised, when he finds, that not one syllable has been said to this purpose. A blind accusation is made, but the crime not specified: nor the place in the Author pointed out, where this great failure is supposed to be obvious. Hence the accused is left without the least opportunity of making his defence. The world will be apt to think, that the justice as well as the judgment of the B. C. *is warped from the strait line of consistency.*

The next charge is said to be a misrepresentation of a passage in Thucydides. But where that passage is to be found, and in what the misrepresentation consists, is kept a secret. No opportunity is afforded to the Reader to form his judgment, and discern the truth. To these misrepresentations is added an undue appeal by Mr. B. (for so it is esteemed) which however will be found to be no misrepresentation, nor improperly introduced. However we are told, *It is with great justice also that he* (Mr. M.) *reprehends the adduction of a sentence*

from Libanius, a sophist of the fourth century, in opposition to the ancient historians. p. 639. Libanius was a man of great learning; and had access to many books, which are now lost. If we set aside his testimony on account of the age, in which he lived, and his distance from the historians, to whom he alludes, we shall hardly know where to draw the line of admission, or reprobation. Eusebius, and many other Writers, though before him, run the hazard of being rejected. Even Plutarch, Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Trogus may be excluded; for they lived a thousand years after some of the facts, which they recorded, and many centuries after the Writers, from whom they borrow. The grounds of the complaint concerning the quotation above are these. Mr. B. had been mentioning, that the Grecians, at least those of Argolis and Sparta, in the beginning of the Persic war, were not skilled in the nautical science. In consequence of this, he quoted Libanius, who says, τοις Ἕλλησι ὑπερενεχθηναι Δηλον φοβερον. (Orat. 19.) *It seemed an object of great fear among the Grecians to venture above the Island Delos.* This is the whole, and the foundation of all this grievance. But it is farther said, that Mr. B. had acted *in opposition to all ancient Historians*, and had *suppressed the evidence of Herodotus.* (p. 639.) It is hardly credible, that such an assertion should have been so unduly made: it is past comprehension, that it should have been repeated, did we not see it before our eyes. There is not a single Author of antiquity, who has been by Mr. B. opposed. And as to Herodotus, he is quoted at large by Mr. B.

He

He lived in those times, and says expressly of the people of the Peloponnesus;----*It was with great difficulty, that they could be brought as far as Delos: all beyond seemed full of danger, as they had little knowledge of those parts. A voyage to Samos seemed to them like a voyage to the straits of Hercules.* Herod. L. 8. p. 682. This was mentioned, and subjoined to the words of Libanius. Yet, when this passage was full open to view, it has been advanced, that Mr. B. went in opposition to all antiquity; though the chief Historian of antiquity had asserted the same; and his words were produced to the world. At the same time no Writer of antiquity says one word to the contrary.

From this little skill of the Grecians in navigation, the following inference was made. *If they were so ignorant at so late an æra, we cannot suppose, that they were more experienced many centuries antecedent.* In opposition to this an objection is brought: and Mr. B. is asked, if this be true, how will he account for the Ionian, Dorian, and other Colonies, which went forth and settled very early, upon the opposite Continent? This question is not amiss: but it should not be put to Mr. B but to Herodotus, whom he quotes. If the evidence is not true, the censure must fall upon him, if any censure can reach him. He lived at the time of the event, concerning which he wrote and gave his attestation. He was also a native of the opposite Continent. Mr. B. has produced his evidence with proper confidence, as he believes, we may safely trust in it, with whatever seeming difficulties it may be attended. But let us consider, if a good reason may

not

not be advanced in support of the father of History. It is to be observed, that the Colonies which in those days went forth, seldom migrated voluntarily. On the contrary, they were generally driven by some powerful enemy from abroad; or by some insurrection at home. The Saturnians, Sicani, Arcadians, Æneadæ, and Argives, in Italy, are all represented as fugitives from their native Countries. The same is observable concerning the Cadmians, Danaidæ, Erechthidæ, and other settlers in Greece; and of the Tyrians at Carthage. Mr. M. takes notice of the Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians being driven from their Country by force. They therefore must from necessity have braved many dangers and difficulties, which they would not have encountered, had no such necessity existed. This therefore does not in the least take off from the credibility of Herodotus, when he mentions this backwardness of some of the Grecian States in the Persian war. They were not under any such cogent necessity, but were left to their own option; and were determined by their deficiency in respect to navigation.

It is next urged with some vehemence, that Mr. B. has insidiously omitted a passage of consequence in the quotation above from Herodotus. Let us then produce the whole of the Historian's words, and see, what consequence will ensue. *When the Ionians sollicited the Helladians to come over to their coast, the utmost, that they could obtain, was to get them as far as Delos. All beyond seemed to be full of danger, as they had little knowledge of those parts.* Then comes the part, which

which was left out:—*and they seemed to be full of the enemies forces.* It has been repeatedly mentioned, that the purpose of Mr. B. was to shew the inexperience of the Peloponnesians in nautical affairs. And as their additional apprehensions about the enemies forces were neither to his purpose, nor against it, he omitted that part as unnecessary; and by a mark plainly shewed, that there was something more, which there was no occasion to insert. This is the utmost of the crime laid to Mr. B's charge. But mark how disingenuous the behaviour has been on the other side. The very person, who has accused Mr. B. of treachery in leaving out a line, that was not at all significant, has himself omitted a subsequent passage, and closely connected, which is of great consequence. This is,—that *the Grecians had such a dread of sailing, that they esteemed a voyage to Samos, as an expedition to the straits of Hercules.* Herod. above. This was before his eyes: but because it was against his argument, he improperly omitted it. And yet he accuses Mr. B. of perfidy, and misrepresentation; and bids the world to be upon its guard against him: and in all this he has been upheld by the British Critic: who goes beyond him in severity and censure.

The next charge of perfidy is of some length; and couched in strong terms. It shall therefore, whatever may be the consequence, be layed most fairly before the Reader. *Another instance which ought not to be suppressed, is one which Mr. M. has reprehended with just indignation, but not half so much as it deserves, p. 34. It is a passage from*

from Diodorus (IV. 169.) *where the author says, that the Epigoni after taking Thebes, consecrated Daphne, daughter of Tiresias, priestess of Delphi; she was a versifier of the oracles, and from her Homer borrowed many verses to adorn his works. By this, says Mr. B. was not* originally *meant Thebes in Bœotia, but* Θῆβαι Αἰγυπτιαι ἑκατομπυλοι.—*What? when the author says expressly, that it was* Thebes in Bœotia, *shall Mr. B. by his* [originally] *turn it into Thebes of Egypt? and shall his own unaccented Greek be put upon a careless reader, as if it were the expression of Diodorus? Is it fair, is it candid to quote an author for what he does not write? or to turn what he does write, to prove an exact contradiction to what he means? And yet this is a reasoner, who imputes prejudice to all who shall controvert his hypothesis.* p. 640. It has been abundantly shewn, that no such imputation was brought by Mr. B. nor has he obtruded upon the *careless Reader* the words alluded to, as the expression of Diodorus. He does not quote the Author for any thing, which he did not write. It is wonderful that the learned Critic, for his own sake, did not guard against so palpable a mistake. After mentioning the account given by the historian, Mr. B. adds, that by Thebes was *originally* meant the City of that name in Egypt. By this was signified, that the persons, who first settled in that part of Greece, imported this name and character of the Sibyl Daphne from Egypt. And in mentioning this where is there any prejudice, or presumption, or want of candour? But the chief charge, and a most weighty one indeed, is, that I have quoted Diodorus, and have gone directly

directly contrary to what he has expressly said. The Reader will see, that this is most undoubtedly true. I certainly differ from him, and must necessarily plead guilty. And this crime is liable to be greatly enhanced, and aggravated; for I have acted in the same manner a hundred times, and perhaps five hundred. We have an instance before our eyes. I have quoted at large the words of the learned Critic, and am obliged to differ from him in every article. And what is more to the purpose, he has himself produced my words, and equally dissented from me. This, I am sorry to say, has been attended with too much warmth and invective, and with dooming me for my lot to *a double portion of indignation.* But notwithstanding these unfavourable concomitants, I wish both the learned Critic, and his Friend, had always acted in the same manner; and pointed out the passages fairly, upon which their allegations were founded.

But after all what is it, that has been so strenuously maintained, and which has given rise to so much intemperance? It is a mere puerile fable concerning the history of *Daphne.* And who was this Personage of so great consequence? She was the daughter of a blind man, Tiresias. And who may this Tiresias have been? He was a reputed native of Thebes in Bœotia; who one day, as he was walking out, saw a female snake, which he crushed with his staff, and was immediately transformed to a woman. Some years afterwards he met with a male snake, which he killed with his staff, and was changed to a man. ανειλε την θηλειαν, και γεγονε γυνη. ειτα τον αρρενα, και εγενετο ανηρ.

Tzetzes. He was, as has been said, the parent of Daphne: but whether the Father, or Mother, is not quite certain. We are farther informed, that he was made umpire in a dispute between Jupiter, and Juno, which he determined in favour of Jupiter. Upon this the Goddess deprived him of his sight. He is said to have lived seven ages of men: and Jupiter, to afford him some compensation for his great loss, conferred upon him the gift of prophecy. What is extraordinary, this gift was continued to him after his death, as a perpetuity in the shades below. But it seems to have been a prerogative of very little use: for of what benefit could prophecy be after this life, to those who had passed Styx, and were upon the borders of Lethe, and Cocytus? The whole concerning this Sibyl, and her parent is an idle figment, and should not have produced so much obloquy, and indignation. It was, I make no doubt, a mysterious history in Egypt; and rendered ten times more obscure by being imported into Greece. I gave my opinion, without affording an immediate reason, little thinking, with whom I was to be engaged.

But as it has been apprehended, that I had no grounds for supposing, that the history of the Sibyl Daphne came originally from Egypt: it shall be my business to shew, that I had some reason for my opinion. Every body of the least learning must know, that the principal Colonies in Greece were from Egypt, particularly the Erechtheidæ, Saitæ, Danaïdæ, and the Cadmians. We are informed by Herodotus (L. 2. C. 50. p. 128.) that almost all the Grecian Deities came

came from the borders of the Nile. And with these was imported the base Theology of that Region, and various legendary histories; which were adopted by the people of Hellas, and ingrafted upon the history of their Country. The Cadmians in particular brought the Dionysiaca, and the worship of the Phallus, together with a number of Egyptian Fables into the region called Bœotia. The City Thebes itself was built by them, and had its name from the very ancient City Thebes in Egypt. Of this I have before given many proofs; particularly from Nonnus, of Panopolis in that Country.

Θηβης αρχεγονοιο φερωνυμος επλετο Θηβη.

Among the legendary importations, I should imagine, was the account given above of Daphne: for there is great reason to think, that the name was Egyptian, and related *originally* to a Priestess of the City Daphne in that region; which was expressed Taphnes, and Taphanes, by the Hebrews. This my opinion I have found countenanced by some Persons of great learning. There occur many places of this name in various parts of the world. There was a Daphne in Sicily, and near Rhegium: also in Lycia, Phœnicia, and at Antioch: as we learn from Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny. Εστι και αλλη πλησιον Πηλουσιου. *There was another Daphne near Pelusium in Egypt.* Steph. Byzant. It is also mentioned by Herodotus. L. 2. C. 30. This near Pelusium was the original City. It was about seventeen miles above it, to the south; and was undoubtedly the Taphanes of that Country, as expressed by the Hebrews; and rendered Daphnes, and

Daphne, by the Greeks. It seems to have been generally thus called by the Authors of the Greek version. Græci Interpretes frequenter Ταφνας eam urbem appellant, quæ Hebræis est Taphanes. See Wesseling apud Antoninum. Cellarius is most to the purpose. Græci Interpretes Ταφνη et Ταφναι constanter reddunt—Ægyptiam Urbem, a Prophetis memoratam. Jeremiah. 11. 16. et 43. 7. quos Latinus Interpres secutus Taphne, vel Taphnis, dictis locis transfert. Geog. Africa. v. 2. p. 38. The like is said by Bochart, Phaleg. p. 277. and 346. By this term was originally signified a Laurel; which by the Grecians was sometimes personified, and supposed to have been a Nymph, beloved by Apollo, and changed to that tree.

Thus this great load of censure is found at last to be unduly brought, and imposed: and the indignation of Mr. M. which is justified by the B. C. appears to be quite unnecessary. The object, to which it is directed, is perfectly ideal. He has raised a phantom to himself, and blindly pursued it, mistaking a shadow for a substance.

One reprehension being past, there succeeds another, and perhaps as ill grounded, which relates to the Deities Cybele and Atys. It begins thus, and is extended through many lines. *But we will proceed now, in return, to quote Bryant against Bryant. In the dissertation before us, he maintains, p. 71, "That the chief objects of worship in this part of the world were Attis and Cybele, called Rhea Dindymene and Berecynthia, the mother of the Gods; she was styled* Θεα ἡ Φρυγια, *the Phrygian Goddess, and her Priests were the Corybantes, the same as the Idæi Dactyli and*

and Curetes. But Homer makes Apollo the guardian God and Minerva the chief Goddess, whose tutelary image was the Palladium." But in his Analysis of Ancient Mythology, vol. iii. p. 435, *Mr. B. writes, "The Trojans and Mysians were of a different race from the native Phrygians, being of the same language with the People of Hellas and Ionia—the Grecians and Trojans were of the same family, as speaking the same language." Morritt from Bryant, p.* 47. See B. C. p. 640. All this may be in great measure true, if we properly distinguish the times, to which we are here referred. For the two regions, after the æra of Troy, were chiefly occupied by the Æolians, who were originally from Hellas. But I do not see, what this detail is to the purpose: nor how it relates to the God Atys or Cybele. Let us then cast an eye upon the subsequent observations and arguments; and observe how Mr. M. is supported by the B. C. for his words are well worth our notice. *These two passages* (quoted by Mr. Morritt above from Mr. B.) *in direct opposition to each other, cited from the same author, cannot perhaps be paralleled in point of contradiction, by any extracts from the most voluminous writer extant; and these two opinions Mr. B. delivered possibly at the same moment, for he assures us, that his dissertation is no new work, it has been in preparation these thirty years.* p. 640. I do not quite understand the purport of this allegation. The B. C. is in the right to make use of the word *possibly:* for there is nothing impossible, which does not contain a contradiction. Yet notwithstanding this limitation,

limitation, I am afraid, that something of this nature is implied here. For it is certain, that nobody can do the same thing twice in the same moment. There seems to be another oversight, when it is affirmed, that *my Dissertation was no new work: it had been thirty years in preparation.* It should be remembered, that I never said, my Dissertation was no new work; at least a work of so long a time. I only mentioned, that the scheme had been a great while in contemplation, and some of the materials before collected. But the whole was never digested, and compleated, till many years after the former work mentioned [1] above. Yet we find that the B. C. insists, that an article in each of the two Treatises was written at the same instant: which could not have been in this manner executed even in one and the same Work. This is a solecism so gross, that nobody, one would think, could have framed it, except an Alderman of Abdera. At whatever time they were written, is of little consequence; and the cavil about the date is as unnecessary, as unjust.

The B. C. however proceeds with the following words.—*Mr. M. with great justice, turns this contradiction* (of Mr. B.) *to further advantage, by showing, that Mr. B. not only once thought that the Trojans were of the same family with the Greeks, but also* that they existed, *which in his dissertation he has thought fit to deny.* It is certain, that in later times the Romans, as well as the Grecians, often mention

[1] My words are (Preface p. vi.) "It was above thirty years ago, since the groundwork of this Dissertation was laid. This was sometime afterwards dilated, and disposed after the manner, in which *it now appears*".

both

both Trojans, and Troy; as they trusted implicitely to the authority of Homer. But what Mr. B. has declared, is, that there was neither Troy, nor Trojan, at the supposed æra of the war. If Mr. B. had since maintained a different opinion, and after several years had changed his mind, where would have been the crime? I wish to heaven, that every body would act in the same manner; and not blindly persist in despite of truth and reason. But Mr. B. has not changed, because he has not been convinced; for obloquy affords not conviction. But in obviating this loose and dissultory crimination, we have lost sight of the principal article, which was concerning Cybele and Atys, the Deities of the part of the World, called afterwards Troas.

Mr. B. had said in his Treatise, that the Deities mentioned by Homer were Grecian: but we find on the contrary from the best Authors, that those of the country, which the Poet makes the scene of action, were Atys, and Cybele, the same as Rhea, Berecynthia, Dindymene. They were the Deities of Troas at the æra supposed. Hence it appears, that Homer has substituted the Gods of his own time; and neglected the ancient and original Deities of Troas and Ida. To this the British Critic answers, with a spirit much too vindictive, and a very uncharitable wish, that the dispute and censure may not end here. He accordingly says,—*Whenever Mr. M. shall bring his work to a second edition, we hope he will not forget to remind Mr. B. that Attis and Cybele were Phrygian deities, and not Trojan, and that the Phrygia, they belong to, is not on the coast of the Ægean Sea, not on the Hellespont, but*

but the great Phrygia in the centre of Asia Minor, and surrounded on all sides by the maritime provinces. p. 640, and 641. He adds, that *Pessinus, from whence the Mater Berecynthia was brought to Rome, is not so little as* 400 *miles from Troy.* ibid. Upon this latter part I shall make no long comment, but only observe, that the Deity being honoured so many miles inland, does not hinder her being worshipped upon the coast: nor does the bringing her statue and rites to Rome, in the time of king Attalus, prove, that she had not the same rites some Centuries before the time of Homer. Troas and Ida were a part of Phrygia Minor; and the seacoast, with which they were to the west bounded, belonged to the same Province, and was upon the coast of the Ægean Sea. But the B. C. maintains, that the Goddess was not worshipped in these parts. It is wonderful, that he did not out of regard to his character take care, and not oppose a history so obvious, and well known. The Goddess is called Idæa repeatedly, and referred to this part of the world.

Alma Parens Idæa Deûm, cui Dindyma cordi,
Turrigeræque urbes, bijugique ad fræna leones.
Virgil. Æn. L. x. v. 252.

Tympana vos buxusque vocant Berecynthia Matris
Idææ. Virg. L. ix. v. 619.

Ululatibus Ida Bacchatur,
Claudian De raptu Proserp. L. i. v. 265.

Interea

Interea gelidæ secretis partibus Idæ
Dum sedet, et thyasos spectat de more Cybelle.

Claudian ibidem.

Sic Phryga terrificis Genetrix Idæa cruentum
Elicit ex Adytis. Statius. L. 10. v. 170.

Lucretius says of this Goddess———

Hanc variæ Gentes antiquo more sacrorum
Idæam vocitant Matrem. L. 2. v. 610.

Virgil carries up the worship of this Deity as high as the æra of Troy: and among the companions of Æneas mentions Chloreus, a Priest of Cybele. If she had a Priest among the Trojans, she must have partaken of Trojan worship.

Forte sacer Cybelæ Chloreus, olimque Sacerdos. L. xi. v. 768.

But the strongest evidence both of the place, and the antiquity of the worship, may be found in Apollonius Rhodius. L. 1. v. 1091 et deinceps. He makes the rites of this Goddess more ancient than the æra of the Argonauts. We are accordingly told by him, that these Heroes in their passage upwards by the Hellespont, and the adjacent region, were ordered by a divine command to go on shore, and visit the Temple of Rhea, the Mother of the Gods, upon Mount Dindymus. By Stephanus it is called Dindyma in the plural: Δινδυμα, ορη της Τρωαδος. *Dindyma are some mountains in Troas.* They were consequently a part of Mount Ida. Strabo says, that these Heroes in their voyage to the Phasis founded—τα της Ιδαιας Μητρος Ιερα, *this*

Temple of the Idæan Goddess, the Mother of the Gods. But Apollonius makes it more ancient. L. 1. p. 76. He mentions also two persons, who were eminent and shared the same worship as the Goddess----- μοιρηγεται ηδη παρεδροι Μητερος Ιδαιης—which Goddess he elsewhere styles *the Deity of Mount Ida, and Mother of the Gods.* All this is plain: yet it is said, that she was not worshipped on any part of this coast. And it is farther too incautiously maintained, without the least show of authority, that—*If the Provinces on the coast worshipped this deity,* (Cybele) *it was not a native, but imported superstition; and that, long after the age of Homer, when the Æolians and Ionians had admitted many of the Asiatic ceremonies into their worship* p 641. But when this admission happened, it will be difficult for the B. C. to discover. The Grecians seem to have imported no superstitions, but their own: which was effected, when Penthilus, the son of Orestes, is said to have brought a Colony from Arcadia. In consequence of this we shall find, that from the region of Troas exclusive, to Samos and beyond, the Deities of Greece are universally worshipped with hardly an exception. Among others are to be found Apollo, Jupiter, Æsculapius, Mercury, Hercules, together with Diana, Juno, and Minerva. See Strabo. L. 10. p. 720. L. 14. p. 945. Pausanias L. 7. p. 566, and in other places. These were the Gods, which they brought. But the B. C. thinks, that the most ancient National Deities were imported by them, and introduced after the birth of Homer. How then come their names never to occur after his time in all Ionia, and below?

low? The name of Cybele is not to be there found: nor were her rites preserved, excepting perhaps in one place. But in the region above, near Phrygian Ida and Troas, upon the Hellespontic Ægean, she was celebrated under all her ancient titles: Cybele, Rhea, Berecynthia, and Magna Mater Deûm. It is remarkable, that this is the very part of the world, where the B. C. asserts, that she never was worshipped. He accordingly gives a very improper hint to his friend, and says, *Whenever Mr. M. shall bring his work to a second edition, we hope, he will not forget to remind Mr. B. that Attis and Cybele were Phrygian deities and not Trojan.* p. 640. I shall not wait for this second Edition, which probably will never see light: but I will avail myself of this kind hint afforded, and be admonished by the B. C. and with propriety defend myself. And here I must first observe, that I always thought, that Troy itself was referred to Phrygia, as a Phrygian City: and the B. C. seems afterwards to recollect himself, and to acknowledge it. He is certainly in the right to alter his opinion in good time: for Virgil speaking of articles relating to Troy styles them continually Phrygian: Phrygius Simoïs; Ida Phrygia; Phrygii Ministri; and Æneas is himself called Phrygius Tyrannus, and Phrygius Prædo. When therefore it is repeatedly affirmed, that Rhea, Cybele, the Mother of the Gods, was not in the Region of Troas reverenced, I know not how to assent to that opinion, as so much evidence from different Writers has been collected, to prove that she was. Therefore by way of conclusion, I shall subjoin the evidence of

Strabo to that, which has been already afforded. Των Τρωων δι περι την Ιδην κατοικουντες Ρεαν μεν και αυτοι οργιαζουσι, ταυτην την Μητερα των Θεων καλουντες. L. 10. p. 718. *The people of Troas likewise, who live within the precincts of Mount Ida, perform the orgies of this Goddess, whom they style the Mother of the Gods.* She was also worshipped at Smyrna, the only place that I recollect beside. This we learn from the same Author, L. 14. p. 956. He afterwards, speaking of the different places, adds this farther evidence to that, which has preceded. Και τους της Μητρος των Θεων οργιασμους εν τη Φρυγια, και τοις περι την Ιδην την Τρωϊκην τοποις. They likewise performed *the frantic rites of the Mother of the Gods in Phrygia, and in those places, which were in the vicinity of the Trojan Mount Ida.* ibid. p. 715.

The rites of Atys were as ancient, and carried on in the same part of the world, however it may be controverted and denied. Wherever the Mother of the Gods, Cybele Berecynthia, was worshipped, he had like reverence, and particularly on Mount Ida: for he was παρεδρος, an assessor, or partner in her rites. This is manifest from several ancient Inscriptions.

M. D. M. I.
Et Attidi sancto Menoturanno.

Again,

Magnæ Deæ Matri Idææ, Summæ Parenti,
Hermæ et Attidi, &c.

See

See Laurentii Pignorii Magnæ Deæ Matris Idææ et Attidis Initia. p. 25. He was the same as Osiris, the great Husbandman, the Inventor of the plough.

Atys pulcher, item curvi monstrator aratri.

Martianus Capella.

There are some pleasing verses quoted from an ancient Inscription by Aldus Manutius: in which the two Deities are referred to the vicinity of Mount Ida.

Qui colitis Cybelen, et qui Phryga plangitis Attin,
Dum vacat, et tacitâ Dindyma nocte silent,
Flete meos casus: non est alienus in istis
Hector, et hoc tumulo Mygdonis umbra premor, &c.

Orthographia, p. 574. See also p. 177.

Catullus has a curious poem of uncommon rapid rythm, in which he describes the frantic rites of Atys and his priests: and he is there said to lead them—

Ad Phrygiam domum Cybelles, ad nemora Deæ,
Ubi cymbali sonat vox, ubi tympana reboant.

The part of Phrygia to which they repaired, is also signified—

Viridem citus adit Idam properato pede chorus.

Atys says of himself—

Ego viridis algida Idæ nive amicta loca colam.

Catullus de Atye, LXI.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding this evidence, it has been too imprudently affirmed by the B. C. that neither Cybele nor Atys were worshipped in this part of the world.

If we consider collectively all that has been said, we shall find, that there has been an oversight in those, who have maintained, that this Deity was not known in Troas, nor upon the Hellespont, and the coast of the Ægean sea. And it appears, that this worship was not introduced by the Æolian, or Ionian Colonists; nor, as has been supposed, later than the birth of Homer. On the contrary, if we may trust to the Grecian Writers, it was far antecedent, and probably the most ancient upon record. Hence the indignation of Mr. Morritt, and the B. C. has been unduly raised; and the double portion of it, which is threatened to Mr. B. is both unnecessary and unmerited. And it is to be hoped, that they will be for the future more careful, and discrete; which I mention for their own sakes.

Mr. B. has been accused of perfidy, evasions, and false inferences: let us see, if he has not some reason in his turn to complain of unfairness in others. It may be said, that this has been sufficiently shewn already. Let me however be permitted to proceed with another instance. It is well known both from the history, which Mr. Chevalier and Mr. Morritt give of Troy, and likewise from their Maps, that they place it aloft upon a hill called Bounarbachi. And at the extremity west stands the Scæan Gate: before which, according to Homer, so many stubborn conflicts are supposed to have happened.

To

To this situation I objected in my Treatises: because it is said of Troy by Homer—η πολις αυτελεστο πεδιοιο, and it was at a distance from any hill of Ida. The B. C. has at last seen the force of this argument; and accordingly copies, and adopts it in favour of the two Gentlemen above mentioned, who seem to have known nothing of this evidence. By this manœuvre he purposes to make *a reconciliation between Homer, Strabo, and all our modern travellers.* He accordingly begins in this manner. *Homer says expressly,* η πολις αυτελεστο πεδιοιο. *The city itself was on the plain, and we see no contradiction in this to the epithet* πεμποστα, *to the* πολις ακρη, *&c. The horse also, which was to be thrown down the precipice,* (*Od.* Θ. 508.) *was first to be* drawn up *the hill before the precipitation could take place.* B. C. for February 1799. p. 131. We will grant all this; but what is it to the purpose? What we see here presented to the Reader, is designed as a Vindication of the two Travellers, and they are defended by arguments, which are directly contrary to what they maintained. In the mean time our attention is artfully drawn away from the true object to be considered, by allusions to the wooden Horse, and its supposed precipitation. But the B. C. proceeds——*It appears that this is consonant to the nature of fortified places in general, where the town is on level ground, the citadel on a height. The epithet* ευρυαγυια, *favours this idea; and the city consisting of three parts, Troja, Ilium, and Pergamus, favours the supposition of extent, which we assign it on the plain. This hypothesis (and as an hypothesis only we give it) would bring the Scean Gate on a*

parallel

parallel with the fountains of the Scamander, or rather lower. ibid. Here is an assemblage of various articles, by which we proceed, as in a maze: and are at a loſs to know, to what they ultimately tend. The Review seems here to be particularly calculated to support Mr. Chevalier and Mr. Morritt; and *to effect a reconciliation between Homer, Strabo, and our modern travellers.* And this is done by bringing the City down to a plain below some fountains, where neither Strabo, nor Homer, nor any Modern Traveller ever placed it. Mr. C. and Mr. M. describe it upon a high hill: so it appears in their Maps, and the name of the hill is mentioned, and the words, *Old Troy*, and *Trojæ Situs* plainly inscribed. The same is to be seen in Plate Page 92. of Mr. Morritt.

The B. C. as has been shewn, transposes the City, and from an eminence brings it two miles lower into a plain: and thus he would make a correspondence, where there is the most material difference. He defends them in contradiction to their own words. In order to render his hypothesis plausible, the Scæan gate is also removed in proportion lower; which is equally contrary to the position allotted by those gentlemen. And this is called *a reconciliation*, and extends even to Homer, and Strabo. At this rate reconciliation and disagreement must be the same. The later Travellers seem to vary greatly in the supposed distance of the City from the coast. Mr. Chevalier makes it twelve miles. Mr. Morritt, ten. Mr. Dallaway, eight. Mr. Wood, six, which are said to be Italian miles. See B. C. for February, p. 130.

How

How can we from this diversity infer uniformity: and think it may be effected by arbitrarily removing the object in dispute, contrary to all who have preceded; even to Strabo, and Homer himself: as I have in other Treatises fully shewn?

In prosecuting his purpose with too much warmth, the B. C. will be found unfortunately at variance with himself; and consequently inconsistent. To establish the Authority of the two Gentlemen, whose cause he supports, he has these words: *Since Mr. Morritt has revisited the Troad, and confirmed all the essential circumstances of Mr. Chevalier's description, and those circumstances correspond in all their peculiarities with the delineation of Homer; either Mr. Bryant must submit to this testimony, or he must maintain that Mr. Morritt, with all the English gentlemen who have been upon the same spot, have conspired with Mr. Chevalier to support a falsehood.* B. C. February, p. 117. Of this very article he is himself guilty; and denies of all others the most essential circumstance, in which, he says, they agree. This is the situation of the City; which they place upon a high eminence, and he two miles off, below, near some springs. see p. 131. He therefore does not submit: and in consequence of it will be obliged to maintain, that Mr. Morritt and Mr. Chevalier, and all of their opinion, have conspired (to use his own words) *to support a falsehood.* • And though it is said by the B. C. that *Mr. M. has confirmed all the essential circumstances of Mr. Chevalier's description*, yet even he is said to disagree with his Friend in the most material article, the situation of the City. *We saw with*

 pleasure,

pleasure, says the B. C. *Mr. M's dissent from Chevalier on the site of Troy*. February, p. 129. It is farther said, *The same falsehood must likewise have been propagated eighteen hundred years ago by Strabo, who declares, that the face of the whole country is in correspondence with the descriptions of the Iliad, and that the features are marked too strongly to be mistaken*. p. 117. Yet Mr. M. and his Friend differ from Strabo, and abuse him: and therefore must have mistaken these strong marks and prominent *features*. And the B. C. in the very same page speaks of Strabo being greatly mistaken, and that he did not know one river from another. line 32. It is also admitted in page 119 and 120, that *the Scepsians could not tell the site of Troy; neither has Demetrius or Strabo fixed it*: and an excuse is made for their ignorance. p. 120. line 28, 29. Yet immediately afterwards he changes, and asserts *the general fidelity of Strabo's picture*. p. 121, line 10. In this picture, asserted to be in general true, the rivers are said to have been mistaken, and the situation of the City either misplaced, or unknown: the names of other objects also are represented, as by Strabo misapplied. Yet we have been told, as appears above, that the correspondence of this Geographer with Homer, and *the features* of his description, *are marked too strongly to be mistaken*. p. 117. How came there then this want of conformity, and agreement, both between Ancients and Moderns, when these *strong features* are described?

Another accusation is brought in the following manner. *Mr. B. is decidedly of opinion, that Homer was of an Egyptian family; or, at least*

least of an Ionian or Milesian family, settled in Egypt. B. C. for December, 1798. p. 641. How is it possible for a person to be of a decided opinion when there are three articles mentioned, and he does not know upon which to determine? At this rate what is either decision or precision? It is said farther, that according to Mr. B. *the Poet was born in Ithaca, but travelled himself also in Egypt, and there collected the History of his Iliad, from the Egyptian Troy.* ibid. There is not a word said by Mr. B. of these histories being collected at that place: it is expressly declared, that they were elsewhere obtained. The B. C. is likewise very wrong to describe Mr. B. as so determined in his opinion concerning Homer and this history. Mr. B. proposes it with some degree of uncertainty, and lays it with proper caution before the Reader. In page 53, his words are,—*If I might hazard a conjecture about Homer in Egypt.* In another place, p. 60, he says,—*I am induced to believe. From the evidence given we may, I think, conclude.* p. 72.—*I will venture to disclose my mind, though I may proceed upon uncertain ground.* p. 102.—*I have mentioned it as my opinion concerning Troy.* p. 167.—*I am induced to believe.* p. 172.—*I have offered a conjecture.* p. 113.----*The story of Troy was probably of Egyptian original.* Index, p. 194. This diffidence is apparent through the whole Treatise: but what is mentioned with a proper limitation, is produced as a fixed and determinate assertion. In short, the British Critic throughout seems to have a very unfavourable bias: and to be dissatisfied with every thing, that Mr. B. can say, which he continually perverts. Hence the most expreſs terms cannot afford security.

The British Critic proceeds farther to object to the opinion, that Homer was of an Egyptian family; and to ridicule the notion. *First, he was of an Egyptian family, because he was descended from Melanopus of Cyme: and Melanopus signifies a black or swarthy countenance. Asking pardon for the levity of the remark, this is not a better proof, than if we were to apply it in a parallel manner, to prove that Edward the Black Prince was an Ethiopian.* December, p. 641. There may be some reason for making an excuse for the levity of the remark; but still more for not stating the article more truly. There are many things omitted, which should have been considered, and mentioned. Mr. B. had taken notice, that at Cuma there had resorted several people of different nations, at the time when that City was building.---παντοδαπα εθνη Ἑλληνικα, αλλοι τε τινες. Vita Homeri. Among these was a person called Melanopus. By this was signified the same as Æthiops, *a person of a dark countenance.* It was a name, by which the Grecians distinguished the Egyptians, whose country among other names had that of Æthiopia. It was moreover shewn, that his reputed Grandson, Homer, was called Melasigenes, which signifies a Nilotic, one born upon the banks of the Nile; for that river had the name of Melas. It was also mentioned, that this Grandson had a close connexion with Egypt; and some Writers farther supposed, that he was born at Thebes—Θηβης εκατονταπυλε. He was acquainted with persons of character in that Country, particularly with a learned Scribe; and it was said, that he borrowed from the Archives at Memphis the history of Troy, and its

its siege: and that he hence composed his Ilias. p. 107. 8. This is in part what had been urged. Now if the learned Critic can make it appear, that in the name of the Black Prince there is any relation to Æthiopia: and that he had a Grandson, that travelled there: who got acquainted with the sages of the Country, and brought away much learning: and likewise, that this Grandson wrote an Epic poem; then I must confess, there will be some analogy between the two persons. But till these points are proved, I cannot see any more correspondence between Melanopus and the Black Prince, than between Semiramis and Pope Joan.

Homer in his Odyssea takes notice of a venerable, and worthy person, who was of great repute in Ithaca. From the description given by the Poet Mr. B. represents him, as of Egypt, or at least of Egyptian original. To this the learned Critic gives an absolute denial, and treats it as a most ridiculous notion. He accordingly says— *Little more do we think of Mr. B's Ægyptius Heros from the Odyssey, as a proof that there were Egyptians in Ithaca, than if it were said that all the family of the Frenches in England, are Frenchmen; or all the l'Anglois in France, Englishmen.* p. 641. Surely there is some mistake in this mode of reasoning. The term French is a cognomen, or surname, and denotes a person: and the same is to be observed in respect to l'Anglois; also to such names, as Paris, Calais, d'Auvergne, and the like: also to Fleming, Scot, York and Dover. These are all, when thus applied, substantives, and point out a man so nominated.

But

But the word Αιγυπτιος, Ægyptius, is an epithet, and denotes not a man, but quality, circumstance, and particularity, relating to a man. The words are not Ἡρως Αιγυπτος, *the Hero named Ægyptus*, but Αιγυπτιος Ἡρως, *the Egyptian Hero*; a man of that Country.

Τοισι δ' επειθ' Ἡρως Αιγυπτιος ηρχ' αγορευειν. Odyss. B. 15.

The words, Egyptian Hero, are analogous to the terms, *the French General, the Spanish Commander, the Danish Admiral.* They relate to the Country, to which the Person belonged. There is no setting aside this true purport: for if there be any such thing as grammar, or reason, the Egyptian Hero must signify *the Hero from Egypt*, a person of that Country.

The B. C. still persists in finding out objections, and seems to be much aggrieved, where there was not the least offence intended. We have seen the evidence produced: which he passes over too negligently; and brings a refined theory against the most positive assurances. Thus he insists, that Homer could never have been in upper Egypt, for a reason, which we could scarcely have conceived. *If Homer ever visited Thebes, he must have passed by the Pyramids, and if the Egyptian Troy had been the real scene of his action, supposing it to be Babylon, or any place in the neighbourhood of Babylon, that city stood on the same rock where Cairo is now built; and the whole war must have passed within sight of the Pyramids. Is this possible, without any allusion to these masses? Or will it be argued, on the contrary, that*

Homer

Homer is prior to the Pyramids? The difficulties into which Mr. B. voluntarily plunges, in this part of his argument, are inexplicable. p. 642. The learned Critic seems to have confounded himself through warmth, and impetuosity. There is nothing here of any argument of mine; nor are the difficulties of my creating. I neither voluntarily nor involuntarily involved myself in them.

I never heard, that Cairo was built upon a rock, nor that it was the same, as Babylon: nor was ever such a strange notion conceived by me, that Homer was antecedent to the Pyramids. Of all the series of argumentation, that I ever encountered, this seems the most dark and unintelligible. The Author sets out with saying, that Homer could not have been at Thebes in upper Egypt, because in his way upward he must have passed by the Pyramids. But how does his silence upon one article prove, that he was ignorant of another? It is supposed, very easily. For if the war of Troy were in Egypt, the Pyramids *were within sight*; and he must have had *some allusion to these masses*. True, if he described the war, as in Egypt, this might have happened. But if he laid the scene in another Country, in Phrygia; why must we expect any such article to be introduced here? Why must he necessarily speak of the Pyramids in his account of Ilium, and Mount Ida; or of the lake Mœris, or of the Sphinx, near the Scamander? In short, why must we conclude from this silence about the Pyramids, that he was never in Egypt, or at Thebes; if we have any real account of his being there? The mode

of

of reasoning above will prove rather unfortunate for the British Critic: for if the Poet's silence concerning the Pyramids shews, that he never was in Egypt; much more will his silence about several Cities in Asia Minor lead us to suppose, that he was not born in that Region. He takes no notice of the City Smyrna, which the British Critic announces to have been the place of his birth. How could he, when he speaks of many places in its vicinity, pass by a City, so near the scene of action, and so obvious on many accounts to be mentioned? Among the rivers he omits the Pactolus; also the Meles, which was the very stream that ran by Smyrna. It is said in the life of Homer, that he was born upon its banks: but from these omissions we may judge, that he was not a native of these parts. To obviate these arguments, we are told, that this City was built by the Cumeans, much later than the æra of the Trojan war, and therefore could not be noticed in a history of that date. But the truth is, that it was rebuilt at that time: consequently there was a prior City; and of such antiquity, that it was supposed to have been founded by Tantalus. It is called by Strabo ἡ παλαια Σμυρνη. L. 14. p. 996: and we find it described in the same manner by Pausanias. Σμυρνη πολις, ἣν λεγουσιν αρχαιαν. *The City Smyrna, which they style the ancient.* L. 7. p. 532. It is said by Strabo to have been, together with Cuma, built by the Amazons. L. 12. p. 827. If then it was reputed to have been of so early date, and antecedent to the æra of Troy, one would imagine, that the Poet would not have left it unnoticed, if it had been the place of his birth.

The

The learned Critic still thinks otherwise, and imagines, that the Æolic and Ionic Dialects, which prevailed in Asia Minor, will determine the birthplace of the Poet. *These singularities---will, perhaps, raise our conjectures to a certainty, when we say that Homer was a native of Smyrna, and that the subject of his poem was naturally suggested by the site of Troy forming part of the possessions of his countrymen.* p. 644. I cannot see, how the subject of any poem could be suggested by the situation of a place: more especially, if that place did not exist. The commencement and execution of a poem might have been encouraged by the proximity of the scene of action; but the subject, if true, must have depended upon some antecedent history or tradition. And as to the Dialects, and their singularities, they were in use in different Cities, and in different regions, where the Æolians settled. No particular place can be determined from a circumstance common to many. The upper part of Hellas was once styled Ionia: and by the same rule we may as justly fix Homer at Athens, as at Smyrna. There are some who have adjudged him to this place.

The B. C. proceeds with his argument, and assures us, that *after all that Mr. B. has said himself, and all that he has caught from others, it will not be possible to show from Homer himself, that he had any connection with Egypt, or that he ever was in that country.* p. 641. Undoubtedly what is obtained from a different person, cannot be a proof from Homer himself. What is borrowed from the stream below, cannot be taken at the fountain head. This therefore is a plain, but

a very unnecessary truth. But if the B. C. means, that we neither from Homer, nor from other Writers can obtain any evidence of the Poet's residing in Egypt, and consequently having a connexion with the Country, he is wilfully mistaken: for such evidence has been laid before him. He must have seen it, and he is very wrong to contradict this evidence, and not produce it to the Reader. It has been just mentioned from different Authors, that Homer was in Egypt, and resided there: and that by some he was esteemed a native of the Country. That he was also acquainted with a learned Scribe, Phanitis; and with Phantasia, a Priestess of Memphis, from whom he borrowed his scheme of the Trojan war. Among the Authors quoted upon the occasion, were Tatianus Assyrius, Ptolemy Hephæstion, Suidas, Diodorus, and Clemens of Alexandria. This last Writer had access to various Authors extant in his time, but now lost; and he says, Ὅμηρον μεν οἱ πλειστοι Αιγυπτιον φασιν. *Most think, that he was an Egyptian.* L. 1. p. 354. There is some difference in these Writers: yet they all conspire to prove, that Homer had at least been in Egypt; and many more intimations have been given by me to the same purpose. Such is the evidence afforded: which the B. C. too fastidiously sets aside, without the least mention of its being exhibited in my Treatise. And he indiscretely affirms, that it is impossible to shew from any intelligence, *that Homer was ever in that Country.*

He then proceeds to prove his assertion, and assures us, that ---*reasons for an opinion directly the reverse, are numerous; for Homer himself*

himself proves his ignorance of Egypt, when he tells us, that a bird could not fly in a whole year to the extent of Menelaus's wanderings in that country. p. 641. I should be glad to know, where it is, that the Poet speaks of these wanderings of Menelaus in Egypt, and of the extent of the Country being measured by the flight of a bird? We are referred to Odyss. Γ. v. 322: but not a syllable is to be found there to the purpose. The Poet undoubtedly takes notice of the Hero's wandering, in more places than one: and makes him say, that besides Egypt, he had visited various parts of the world.

Κυπρον, Φοινικην τε,——
Αἰθιοπας δ' ἱκομην, και Σιδονιας, και Ἐρεμβους
Και Λιβυην. Odyss. Δ. v. 83, &c.

We find here *Cyprus*, and *Phœnicia* specified, also the *Ethiopians*, *Sidonians*, and *Erembi*, together with the coast of *Libya*. To these perigrinations collectively the Poet makes ancient Nestor allude in the passage, to which we are referred by the B. C. They are his words to Telemachus; by which he informs him, that Menelaus was lately come back, after having been among very remote nations. And he says, that a person would despair of ever returning from such a distance, who at setting out had been hurried away by winds and storms; and carried into a like immense sea: a sea, from which birds cannot find their way back in a whole year, so vast it is, and terrible.

——————Κεινος γαρ νεαν αλλοθεν ειληλουθει,
Εκ των ανθρωπων, οθεν ουκ ελποιτο γε θυμῳ
Ελθεμεν, ὁυτινα πρωτον αποσφηλωσιν αελλαι.
Ες πελαγος μεγα τοιον, οθεν τε περ υδ' οιωνοι
Αυτοετες οιχνευσιν, επει μεγα τε, δεινον τε. Odyss. Γ. v. 318. &c.

The Reader must behold with surprise, that this flight of a bird does not in the least relate to Egypt. The Poet never designed it for a measure of the length of that Country; but of the extent of the immense ocean, in which Menelaus had been engaged. This is an unfortunate mistake: and it is rendered of bad consequence by the wrong inference, which is made from it: for strange to tell, from this untoward flight of a Bird it is maintained, that Homer never was in Egypt.

We find it said by the B. C. towards the close, *We have not the presumption to talk of proofs. We wish only to reconcile difficulties, and compare the internal evidence with the traditions: in the performing of this task, we trust that we have been employed in the cause of literature, and given testimony of our veneration of the poet.* p. 644. I shall very readily agree with this learned Critic, when he here intimates, that he does not deal in proofs: for certainly no proofs have been afforded, nor even verisimilitude. And whatever good purposes he may profess, of this he may be certain, that the many mistakes, which he has made himself, and others, which he unduly adopts and maintains; and the

severity,

severity, and unmerited censures, which he bestows upon one, who never aggrieved him: and additionally to this, an apparent contempt of a character, which he tries essentially to injure; I say, all these untoward articles can never be of any *service in the cause of Literature.* As to his zeal for Homer, it is laudable, though, I think, not well directed. For the fame of the Poet cannot be enhanced by any disputation about the place of his birth, or residence. His excellence is the same, wherever he was born, or lived. Upon this excellence Mr. B. has dwelt very minutely in his Treatise concerning Troy, and given his attestation to it. Few have done it more amply.

We are now brought to the end of the learned Critic's animadversions, which conclude with this friendly advice. p. 644. *We will now for the present conclude with a sentiment, to which we hope Mr. B. himself will subscribe.*

In an age when it is the fashion to destroy every thing and build nothing, if half the talents and erudition which are applied to support the dreams of scepticism, were employed in confirming the received opinions of mankind, the science of criticism, as well as politics, would be benefitted by the exchange.

I am sorry, that even here I shall be obliged to disappoint my good Friend's best hopes: for I can by no means subscribe to the articles, which he has proposed. There are many things intimated, to which the learned Critic has not sufficiently attended. First, there

is contained an undue Satire upon the times, which, I think, do not deserve the character of destroying all things, and building nothing. The present Century is now closing, during which the noblest efforts towards the maintaining of the most interesting truths have been continually shewn. Let us consider the bright lights from Newton and Tillotson downward to this concluding year: in which there remain many excellent Persons, among whom no such fashion predominates; and if any Writers of an eccentric and wayward genius have at times appeared, there have been found others, far more in number, and far superiour in knowledge, by which their evil influence has been prevented. It is unnecessary to enumerate the many brilliant luminaries, that have appeared in this interval; or to mention the Men of learning, that at this day exist. Let us only, out of the numbers to which I have alluded, select some few, such as Clerk, Sherlock, Butler, Doddridge, Lardner, Secker, Jortin: who expended their labours, not to promote the science of criticism and politics; but to maintain the most salutary truths, with which the world can be engaged. We have seen Female excellence displayed for the same good purpose; and every noble faculty employed, to disclose and confirm those doctrines, upon which all our peace and happiness are founded: our happiness here, and hereafter. And this has been effected by that excellent Writer, to her great honour, and to the good of thousands.

It may be thought very presuming in me to give the least hint about myself, after having mentioned those great and excellent Persons,

sons, who have preceded. But I trust, that I shall be excused, if I only assert, that my purposes are uniformly the same: and my endeavours have been for many years to ascertain the truth of the sacred Writings, and of the Religion, which I profess. It is therefore very injurious to intimate to the world, that I am one of those, whose fashion it is *to destroy every thing, and to build nothing*: and who merely support the *dreams of scepticism*. (p. 645.)

I have now laid before the Reader the chief animadversions of the British Critic; which, I believe, will be thought as ill grounded, as they are severe. I will venture to affirm, that every article alledged is without exception a mistake: I say, every article from the beginning, without exception.

There has been a Tribunal of Science for some time founded, to carry on the monthly Treatise, called the British Critic: and a particular Gentleman is generally esteemed the President. It is with pain, that I am obliged to ask that Gentleman, how he could venture to lay before the World such a series of misrepresentations, and so much unmerited censure? I join with his best Friends in acknowledging his learning, and extensive knowledge. But the more I extol his talents and acquirements, the less I am forced to say of his liberality, candour, and regard to truth. This cannot be deemed too severe towards a person, who has unduly imputed want of veracity to others. His learning, which I have above acknowledged, must have taught him, that his censures were as unbecoming, as unjust; and that he

was

was supporting a bad cause. This has been in opposition to his better judgment, and contrary to conviction. What could possibly win him to such misapplication of his parts? In short, he must not be surprised, if any unfriendly person should pass sentence upon him, and say, *If you did not know these mistakes, you ought not to write: if you did know them, and defend them, you ought not to be read.*

As the learned writer has given (p. 645) some friendly advice, in order to improve the science of criticism, and politics, he will permit me, I hope, to give him in my turn some hints towards the promoting of humanity and candour. I remember, it was the maxim and rule of a particular Friend of mine, never to find fault in order to shew his own learning; nor to debase others, to display his own superiority. Above all things, we ought not to have our judgment warped by either vanity, prejudice, or gratuity. And even the detection of mistakes should be attended with moderation, without asperity or contempt: and the truth should religiously be maintained. But we have seen many sad instances to the contrary. It is said by Moses, *Cursed is he, who removeth his neighbour's landmark:* for by these means his neighbour lost a part of his hereditary domain. A like menace is uttered towards persons, who used false weights and measures: for by these were meted out, not only mint and cumming, but balm and spices; and also silver and gold. But what is land, or even gold and silver, in comparison of a person's character? the value of which is above rubies, or any eastern treasure, and should never

never be disingenuously impaired. It ought to be held too sacred to be weighed in a false balance; and to have its intrinsic worth fraudulently diminished. That this advice is neither unseasonable, nor unnecessary, I believe, the Reader in his justice will acknowledge. I shall therefore conclude with the following hint, from the same excellent Lawgiver of the Hebrews, which I present to the learned Reviewer——*Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy Neighbour.* Exodus 20. v. 16.

But this learned Gentleman after all may have an excuse, and say, that he was not the Author of this defence: and it is therefore injurious to refer these mistakes, and wrong inferences, to him. But, I fear, the World will not be satisfied with this evasion. I have said, that a Tribunal of Science has been founded by him, in which he sits President: and he has given his assent, and sanction, to all the scorn, and invective, and to all the mistakes, that have been produced upon this occasion. He is responsible for the whole. Every wrong argument, and every false inference, will be ultimately imputed to him.

Another resource is to say, that he never read this defence of Mr. M. nor troubled himself about it. But this will tend to a heavy accusation: and people will think, if he is so negligent, and supine, that his Monthly Treatise, with so many mistakes, will not be worth reading. It will defeat the very purpose of its institution. There are undoubtedly many learned dissertations in the Treatises, and from

whose pen they are derived, I can easily perceive. But if a great share of these remarks are delegated to persons disaffected, and not competent, it will little avail, si splendeat unus et alter purpureus pannus. No partial silk, nor even rich embroidery, will recommend the Robe, which abounds with shreds, and patchwork, and the coarsest fustian. It will become in time as ridiculous, as a Merry-Andrew's jacket.

Concerning the Geography of Homer.

IN the Second Part of the British Critic upon this subject, the Geography of Homer is principally considered. I am obliged to say, that through the whole of this representation there appears a most wordy process, and a mode of reasoning the most inconclusive, that I ever experienced. At the same time there are mistakes, and instances of inconsistency, which occur, where I little thought to find them. Let us take a view of the Exordium, where he says, *The geographical accuracy of Homer is so generally acknowledged by all writers, ancient and modern, that it stands in no need of confirmation.* B. C. for February, 1799. p. 116. Yet he immediately tells us, that this knowledge is very limited, and confined to Greece, and its Islands; for *when he speaks of Libya, Egypt, Phœnicia, or Italy,* his accuracy ceases, and he is as liable to *be mistaken,* as any other person. And a reason is given: *Because his*

his countrymen, in the age wherein he lived, knew little beyond this boundary. Whether this excuse will be thought satisfactory, I know not: and whether one person's want of sight, must be imputed to another's blindness? We however find this golden aphorism naturally arise from the premises above, that *want of knowledge proceeds from ignorance.*

Immediately after mentioning this confessed deficiency of the Poet, in respect to the greater part of the Earth, the B. C. speaks again of his superiour accuracy, which he calls preeminence. *It is however, in direct opposition to this preeminence, so universally acknowledged, that Mr. Bryant has affirmed, that Homer was ignorant of the very country in which he lived.* p. 116. Mr. B. must undoubtedly take off greatly from the Poet's preeminence in geographical knowledge, and his knowledge in general, if he would not allow him to know, where he resided. But how is it possible to conceive any person so lost to common sense, as not to know, where he lived, except perhaps Peter the wild Boy, or the Girl of Compeign? Where does it appear, that Mr. B. ever maintained so idle an assertion, concerning this ignorance of Homer? Why does not the B. C. produce his evidence, when he speaks so boldly?

To prove however what nobody ever denied, and what nobody could deny, that Homer knew the Country, where he lived; the B. C. brings a passage, in his notes, from Strabo, (p. 603,) which he applies to the Poet,——ανδρι εμπειρῳ και εντοπιῳ. By this is signified, that he was *a man of experience*, and who was born, or at least *lived, upon the*

spot. This, if true, would be decisive both in respect to the place of his birth, and residence. But, Gentle Reader, be pleased to observe, that these words are not spoken of Homer, nor have they the least relation to him. The Author is giving an account of Ilium, and the places in the Region of Troas: and the person, whom he mentions, is Demetrius of Scepsis. This Scepsis has been before described, as in the vicinity of Ilium, and the principal place of that district. To shew therefore the regard due to this person's descriptions, Strabo tells us, that Demetrius was well acquainted with this part of the world; and εμπειρος και εντοπιος: the latter of which generally signifies a Native. Casaubon very truly says, concerning these words of Strabo----de Demetrio Scepsio loquitur. (Notes) This is the very Demetrius, who, together with Strabo, has been vilified, and his authority denied. But, what is extraordinary, when the passage is perverted, and misapplied, his words are adopted, and recommended, as of indisputable authority.

We have in the same page an old grievance repeated: which has been sufficiently answered before. It is again made a matter of complaint by the British Critic, that Mr. B. determines *the real Troy to be in Egypt*. But Mr. M. in opposition to this has accused him of fixing it near Alexandrea Troas. The B. C. himself complains soon after, that he not only places Troy here, but also introduces an imaginary river. *If Mr. B. will place Troy in Egypt, let him keep it there—do not let him return to Asia Minor*. p. 125. But how can he have determined it in one place, if he thinks, there is a possibility of its being in another?

After

After this there succeeds a great deal of improper, and intemperate language. But it should be considered, that contempt is not argument; nor abuse reason. My opinion is represented sometimes as a ridiculous notion: at other times as a wild and extravagant system. *Against an hypothesis so visionary; so inconsistent even with the fictions of poetry, and so peculiarly foreign to the character of Homer, and the tenor of his poems, it is not strange if the whole circle of the literary world is united.* p. 116. The learned Gentleman must excuse me, if I insist, that the whole of the literary world is by no means united against me. But let us see, what has gone before, and given rise to this violent exclamation. According to the B. C. it was owing in great measure to Mr. B's giving to Troy a different situation from that, which has generally been allotted. How this can be inconsistent with the *fictions of Poetry, and so peculiarly foreign to the character of Homer, and the tenor of his poems*, I cannot discover. There seems to be no connexion or analogy between the articles.

In p. 125. the Map of Mr. B. is mentioned, and as we may well expect, not very favourably. *We come now*, says the B. C. *to the boldest flight of imagination which the soaring spirit of Mr. B. has taken, for such a fiction as his map of the Troad, does not appear to have been attempted in any former instance. It would suit the wanderings of Io in the Prometheus, or the travels of Philostratus, as well as Homer.* We see here a terrible alarm given, and great boldness and presumption intimated, and all this arises from a Map. But our fears are afterwards

alleviated;

alleviated, by our being told, that the whole of this daring hypothesis *rests upon an epithet.* p. 125. Who would have thought, that the boldest flight of imagination, which the most soaring spirit could take, also one of the most daring attempts ever made, should originate from an epithet: and a Map be formed from a noun Adjective? Who also would believe, that the district contained in this Map, which, it is said, would suit the rovings of the Cow Iö, or the travels of Philostratus, was not bigger than a Welch County? Glamorganshire, I believe, is as large as all Priam's Empire. The Map of Mr. B. is obvious to any one, who will inspect it: and will prove the best argument against all that is above, and in other places, said concerning it. Mr. B. wishes only, that the Reader will compare it with those of Mr. Morritt and Chevalier, as it will sufficiently plead for itself.

Let us now consider another heavy accusation, which is couched in the following terms. *Another source of Mr. B's error is, as Mr. M. remarks, his confounding Lectum with Gargarus; but, in the common acceptation of all geographers, Lectum is the termination of the ridge of Ida on the south, and Gargarus is the summit, not far from the center.* p. 126. Where was this central part? And since *all Geographers* are mentioned, I should be glad to know, what one, out of the many, has ever determined such a center, or even alluded to it? In the passage referred to by the B. C. which is in page 168 of Mr. B's Treatise, it is expressly said—that *Ida Gargarus was the same as Lectum,*

at least a neighbouring summit of the same mountain, and had also the name of Olympus. Strabo places Lectum at the extremity of Troas, to the south, and upon the sea, not far from Tenedos. L. 13. p. 872. 874. 903. And the summit, ακρωρεια, was Gargarus: the Γαργαρα ακρα of Stephanus, and Γαργαρον of Homer. The B. C. still persists, and says, *If Mr. B. will follow the course of Juno, Ξ. 225. through one of those aerial expeditions of the Gods, which Homer describes with as much attention to geography as those of mortals—he will see how perfectly the poet has distinguished Gargarus from Lectum.* p. 126. I must confess, that I cannot follow Juno. Besides the language of the Author is sometimes so refined, that I am not always able to arrive at the purport: nor can I here devise, what is meant by the words *those of mortals.* But let us proceed with the description of the Goddess's flight. *Juno bounds from Olympus to Pieria, and thence by Emathia, Thrace, and Athos, to Lemnos. At Lemnos she finds Sleep, and persuades that God to accompany her; and here a new route commences; they leave Imbros and Lemnos, and approach Ida, that part of Ida called Lectum. Ξ. 284. At Lectum the poet expressly makes Sleep remain, while Juno proceeds to Gargarus:* and to this purpose the Poet is quoted. There is then added—*If this does not imply distinction and distance, then is the poet incapable of expressing himself distinctly.* p. 126. There is certainly both distance, and distinction, amply implied; and one would imagine from the long process above, that the B. C. formed a judgment of that distance of Gargarus by the flight of Juno from Olympus, by Pieria,

Pieria, and Emathia, to Troas: which, kind Reader, is a long way. But why has all this labour been expended to prove, what was never denied? There was an acknowledged difference between Gargarus and Lectum, the same as between a part and the whole.

As the course of Juno seems very irregular, and unnecessarily extended, some fastidious Critics may think, that it is not quite consistent with the accuracy in geography, which was above attributed to Homer. But there is an expedient found to take off this untoward appearance, and the objection is anticipated, and answered in the following manner. *If Mr. B. asks why this circuitous flight, when they might have gone strait from Lemnos; the answer is not very consistent with our notions of a deity, but with Homer's usual picture of his Jupiter.* p. 127. I cannot possibly find out the purport of the apology here made for the Poet. The article to be explained is the course of Juno; and we are told, that, if an objection is brought, the answer about Juno's course, though not very consistent with our notions of a Deity, yet is consistent with the picture of Jupiter by Homer. This is difficult to be comprehended: but we find it explained in the following manner. *Jupiter was now looking on the plain of Troy, and they approached him from behind: and Jupiter was not a Janus, as we learn from Il. N. init. He could not look North to the Danube, and West to the plain, at the same time.* I cannot see, how this clears up the difficulty, any more than what preceded. The subject is the accuracy of the Poet, which seems to be impeached by Juno's circuitous and irregular

gular flight. How her bounding from Olympus to Pieria, and then bounding by Emathia, Thrace, and Athos, can be accounted for by Jupiter's not being a *Janus*, or by their *coming behind*, or from the direction of his view *North or West*, I cannot conceive. During all this tedious process the point to be decided is utterly forgotten, which was the situation of Gargarus. I am obliged to say, that the language, and series of argument above is as dissultory, excentric, and incomprehensible, as the vagaries of Juno. I make no doubt of the accuracy of the Poet in respect to the Geography of the places mentioned. If it is ever rendered suspected, it will be by such a defence.

To the foregoing is subjoined the following request. *Let us ask Mr. B. in return, why he wishes to confound Gargarus with Lectum?* Why does the B. C. make this demand *in return*, and, as it is intimated, on account of a request antecedently made by Mr. B. when he has said nothing, and entertained no such wish? All that has preceded, is of the B. C's manufactory solely. While he is so very solicitous to maintain the opinion of Mr. M. and at the same time insists, that Mr. B. has confounded the two eminences, concerning which so much has been said: he does not, or he is not willing to see some mistakes of his friend in respect to those two articles. He separates the Mountains sufficiently far, so that there is no fear of any confusion. But in effecting this he has been led into some great errors. I have before in several parts of my Treatises mentioned, that Lectum was the Promontory, which bounded Troas to the South, as Zeleia near

Abydus did to the North. It formed a Cape upon the sea, and separated Troas from Æolis, and Mysia below it. As it stood close to the sea, it was the first place, to which people came from the Islands near it. Hence when Juno and Pallas are said by the Poet to have gone from Lemnos, this is the place, where they first arrive.

Ἰδην δ' ἱκεσθην πολυπιδακα, μητερα θηρων,
Λεκτον, ὁθι πρωτον λιπετην ἁλα—Il. Ξ. 283.

Gargarus seems to have been the ακρωτηριον, or highest part of Lectum: at least it could not be far from it. Mr. M. places it in a different situation: but he gives us no authority, by which we can be determined: and in his Map, where we should expect to see the Mountain noticed, it is not to be found. The B. C. however, with a lively faith, and much too easy assent, proceeds, and says, that *Mr. M. assures us, that, from Gargarus, the plain, the ships, the Hellespont, and Tenedos, are all in sight.* p. 127. The Reader perhaps will not easily trust to Mr. M's assurance in this point. From the number of hills, which intervene in his Map, as well as in that of Mr. Chevalier, one would imagine, that no place of such extensive prospect could be found. But should such an eminence exist, yet how does Mr. M. know, that it was the true Mount Gargarus. Upon what does he found his notion, but mere fancy, contrary to all authority, even the authority, which he produces. For to shew the distance of Gargarus from Lectum, he quotes this passage from Strabo. L. 13. p. 903. *After Lectum is the town of Polymedium at forty stadia, then a small grove at eighty more: then*

then at a hundred and forty Gargara. Therefore, says Mr. M. *from Lectum to Gargarus was a distance of* 260 *stadia, that is, without discussing the precise measure of a stadium, about thirty miles.* Morritt's Vindication. p. 84. He adds, *It will be observed by the reader that he* (Mr. B.) *argues as if the view from Gargarus were the same with that from Lectum, when they were thirty miles asunder.* Mr. Morritt is greatly mistaken, as is the British Critic, who supports him. The place mentioned by Strabo at this distance, is not Mount Gargarus, but quite a different object, the City Gargara: whose situation that Writer very accurately describes. It has been observed more than once, that Ida at Lectum separated the region of Troas from Æolis and Mysia, to the south: and close under it was the Sinus Adrammyttenus. Strabo tells us in this part of his description, that the places upon the sea coast of Mysia were in general low, especially those near this Sinus. He among others mentions the City Gargara, which he describes upon a promontory; and as we have seen above, about 30 miles from Lectum. As fables are consistent, how could Mr. M. and the B. C. think, that when Juno came from Lemnos to Mount Gargarus, and left the God Somnus behind at Lectum, that this was thirty miles short of her place of destination? The Goddess, when she left the Owl at Lectum, placed him there in a situation very near, that she might have his influence, whenever there was occasion. There it is said, that he hid himself in a tree to prevent Jupiter's seeing him.

Ενθ' Υπνος μεν εμεινε, παρος Διος οσσε ιδεσθαι,
Εις ελατην αναβας. Il. Ξ. 286.

We see in the whole account proximity intimated. How could Mr. M. be so mistaken, as to place the Mountain 30 miles off; and describe those distant views from it, which he has conceived in the warmth of his imagination? He quotes a passage in Strabo, which makes intirely against him. For that Author in the place, to which we are referred by Mr. M. p. 84. affirms, that *the whole Country was separated by ridges, which prevented all distant views.*

Many errors concerning this Mountain and City have arisen from the true name of each not being properly described. And some marginal variations seem to have been admitted into the text; which were designed to distinguish; but have served only to confound. For both these objects are expressed by different Authors, Gargarus, Gargara, and Gargarum. Hence Stephanus Byzantinus tells us, that the Writer Epaphroditus recommended a certain rule to prevent all ambiguity, which was, uniformly to render the Mountain *Gargarum*, neuter: and the City *Gargara*, feminine. But whatever obscurity may have been sometimes induced, yet we may by the context, and by the descriptions at times given at large, easily discriminate, and ascertain the identity of each object, both of the Mountain and of the City. When Jupiter, or any of the Deities, come to the Mountain Gargarum, it is always spoken of as the highest eminence of all near it. Ηρη---προσεβησατο Γαργαρου

Γαργαρον ακρον. Il. Ξ. v. 292.---Ενδε πατηρ ανα Γαργαρον ακρον. v. 352. Of this there are many instances. But when the City is spoken of, it is represented in quite a different situation. Κειται δε ἡ Γαργαρα επ' ακρας πωιεσης τον ιδιως Ἀδραμυττηνον κολπον.-----εντος δε ἡ Αντανδρος. Strabo L. 13. p. 903. *The City Gargara lies within the Bay of Adramyttium, upon a promontory, which forms the Bay.* It was not properly in Troas, but in a neighbouring Province. Gargara sunt in Mysiâ, quæ est Hellesponti Provincia. Macrob. Sat. L. v. C. 20. p. 362. It was sometimes styled an Æolian City, and stood near Assus, and Antandros, on the south of Ida; where Æneas was supposed to have built his ships. Μετα δε την Ασσον εσι Γαργαρα πλησιον πολις, which is quoted by this Author from Ephorus. He applies to another ancient Writer, Phileas, who affords much the same description. Μετα Ασσον πολις εστιν ονομα Γαργαρα. ταυτης εχεται Αντανδρος. *Beyond Assus stands the City Gargara. The City Antandros is hard by.* Macrobius supra. It stood near another ακρα, or promontory, in the Bay, mentioned by Strabo, and called Pyrrha. Strabo L. 13. p. 903. This situation of the place upon a headland, or rock, near the sea, is shewn by the same Writer, Macrobius, from two verses introduced by him from Aratus. They are written upon one Diotimus, who taught children their alphabet.

Αιαζω Διοτιμον, ὁς εν πετρησι καθηται
Γαργαρεων παισιν βητα και αλφα λεγων.

It is not only said to have been in Mysia, but we are told also by Strabo, that it was built by the Mysians of Assus, who peopled it by a Colony

a Colony from Miletus. L. 13. p. 909. The nature of its situation may farther be known from the City Antandros, which was near it, and stood ὑπερκειμενον εχθσα ορος, having Mount Ida above it. It was consequently rather low, as being near the sea. Here Æneas is said to have built his ships; and the same is said of Paris before him.

Ardua proceris spoliantur Gargara sylvis,
Innumerasque mihi longa dat Ida rates.

Ovid. Epist. xvi. v. 107.

Here also, upon the Mountain above, was supposed to have been the place, where Paris had the interview with the three Goddesses. Strabo L. 13. p. 904. and hard by was the Altar to the twelve Gods, erected by Agamemnon at Lectum. ibid. p. 902. These histories afford additional strength to my supposition, that the City Troy, according to the disposition of Homer, was in the southern part of Troas, and not far removed from the City of that name, which was built in memory of it by Antigonus. This City stood near Mount Gargarus, and Lectum, as it seems to be intimated by Virgil: who, as I before said, places it in view of Tenedos, which was very near these two eminences. In another place, when he has related the taking of the City by the Grecians, he tells us, that Æneas gathered together the remains of the Trojans, and afterwards, when it began to dawn, he took his father upon his shoulders, and conducted his people up mount Ida.

Cessi, et sublato Montem Genitore petivi.

Æneid. L. II. fin.

That

That this was the part of Ida called Lectum, and Gargarus, may be inferred from the place of his residence on the other side afterwards, and where he built his Ships.

———Classemque sub ipsâ
Antandro, ac Phrygiæ molimur montibus Idæ.

Æneid. III. v. 6.

This certainly was the opinion of Virgil, and many of the Ancients, concerning the Troy of Homer.

I cannot leave the history of the City Gargara without mentioning the fertility of the soil about it. To this Ovid alludes, when he says,

Gargara quot segetes, quot habet Methymna racemos.

De Arte Amand. L. 1. v. 57.

The same is mentioned by Virgil.

——Nullo tantum se Mysia cultu
Jactat, et ipsa suas mirantur Gargara messes.

Georg. L. 1. v. 103.

Macrobius speaks of a serene sky and good air being so necessary, ut sine his nec illi naturâ fecundissimi Mysiæ agri responsuri sint opinioni fertilitatis, quæ de his habetur. Macrobius supra. The same Author says, the plenty in these parts was so great and so celebrated, that the word Gargara became proverbial; and was made to signify any thing superabundant. Hence by Γαργαρα ανθρωπων was denoted *a*

vast

vast multitude of men. And he quotes from Aristophanes the ludicrous term ψαμμοκισιογαργαρα, which, he says, signifies numerositas innumera, a numberless numerosity.

There is another circumstance, to which people have not sufficiently attended; and which has been the cause of some confusion. There were two Cities named Gargara, as we are informed by the Author of the Etymologicum Magnum, and other Writers. One was Πολις της Ιδης, εν ὑψηλῳ τοπῳ κειμενη. It was situated high up, and said to be called Palægargarus: and had its name from the Mountain, where it was built. Παλαι Γαργαρος [1] καλουμενη. Stephanus. But the cold was so intense, that the Gargarenses were obliged to quit it: δια το κρυωδες ὑποκατεβησαν οἱ Γαργαρεις: and by the assistance of the people of Assus built, as has been shewn, a City Gargara at a distance upon the Bay. And it is farther said by Strabo, that the new City stood upon a promontory, which formed the Sinus. Κειται τα Γαργαρα επ' ακρας πωιουσης τον ἰδιως Αδραμυττηνον καλουμενον κολπον. L. 13. p. 903. It must therefore have been in some degree on the opposite side from Lectum, at which Mountain the bay began. And the distance described

[1] It may possibly be the place alluded to by Strabo in a part of his Work, which seems corrupted. Γαργαρα τοπος εν τοις ανω μερεσιν της Ιδης δεικνυται, εν ᾗ τα νυν Γαργαρα πολις Αιολικη. L. 13. p. 874. The words Γαργαρα τοπος εν ᾗ cannot be right. Casaubon reads εφ' ὑ, which, I should think, was the true reading. When Writers express any object by δεικνυται, *it is shewn, or pointed out*; they generally refer to something not obvious, and obscure. They particularly use it, when they speak of a Town or City, which has been deserted. Hence I should think, that the meaning of the Author is as follows. *Gargarum is a place, that is shewn in the higher regions of Mount Ida, upon which a City, Gargara of Æolis, is at this day to be seen.* It was called Palægargara in order to distinguish it from the more modern Gargara beneath; which was also an Æolian City. Some express the name Παλαια Γαργαρα.

by

by the Author was measured according to the sinuosity of the coast, and the situation of the places, which could not be in a strait line, but irregular, like those mentioned by Ptolemy and Antoninus; and indeed like the series of places specified by Geographers in general. These are never precisely in the same direction, or in a strait line.

This City Gargara of the Mysians, upon the coast of a large Inlet of the sea, the B. C. and Mr. M. have supposed, as I have shewn, to have been the Mountain Gargarus. Hence all the fertility of the Country below must be attributed to a barren eminence, and a region so cold, that the first inhabitants could not subsist, but were obliged to change their habitation. When Mr. M. has by mistake taken the distance of the City for the distance of the Mountain, we are assured by the B. C. that he himself got upon it, and *from Gargarus, the plain, the ships, the Hellespont and Tenedos were all in sight.* p. 127. We have seen, that the reciprocal distances of some scattered places to Gargara were reputed to be about thirty miles. This he has supposed to relate to the Mountain; and accordingly he went so many miles upon a barren ridge, and then thought, that he was arrived at the wished for point. But the measurement of Strabo related to a quite different object: and every step, which he took, was in a wrong direction. Hereabouts was the Centre mentioned by him before: and it is said, *Gargarus is the summit not far from the centre, in the common acceptation of all Geographers.* p. 126. But, I believe, no such medium is to be found in any Author, or in *any acceptation.* Mention is also

made of the very extensive prospect from this height, of which I make no doubt, as he affirms it: though his Map betrays so many impediments, so many interfering hills, as might otherwise raise some suspicions. Strabo likewise speaks of many προποδες, or *ridges*, crossing the Country, which prevented any such distant views.

This may not be very interesting, nor satisfactory to the learned Reader: but I have been so unfairly treated upon this head, and with such unbecoming severity, that I am obliged to prove my rectitude, and obviate these repeated censures.

To make void my supposition, that the Troy of Homer was in the vicinity of Troas, the B. C. produces the following argument, and a new accusation, similar to that, which has preceded. *Next to the confusion of mountains, is the invention of rivers. Fortunately for geographers, some features of the earth are perpetual. Rivers flow, mountains rise, and capes project, where they did thirty centuries ago. Now D'Anville could find no river at Lectum, nor Morritt, nor any traveller whose work we can consult. But Mr. B. can find two, and can give a course of twenty miles to one of them.* p. 127. How unfair this is, and contrary to Mr. B's express words! He speaks of the City Troas: but at the same time says—*that the two rivers, the Simois and Scamander, so particularly mentioned, in its vicinity, are not any where to be found.* See Treatise upon Troy, p. 165. However, as Dr. Pocock observed *a stream, called by the Natives Aychsu, which was probably an arm of some river,* Mr. B. accordingly put down in his Map a delineation

delineation of such a stream, not immediately under Lectum, but near Alexandrea. This the B. C. has magnified to two rivers; and makes one of them run twenty miles. p. 127. To this river Mr. B. gave no name, as he spoke of it as a matter of uncertainty. All that he endeavoured to shew, was, that the river was thought by some to be the Scamander, and that it was found near the City Troas. But the B. C. says, *It is very strange, that these rivers should have escaped all notice by ancients and moderns.* p. 127. They have not been unnoticed. Sandys, Belonius, and Mr. Wood, afford some intimation about them; and Pliny, speaking of this part of the region, mentions a City of this name just below Troas,—Scamandria, civitas parva. We may conclude, that it took its name from the river, on which it stood. L. v. p. 288. l. 8. Hierocles gives the same information, when he presents us with a list of the Cities downward, Lampsacus, Abydus, Dardanum, Ilium, Troas, Scamandria. p. 662. These rivers, the Simoïs and Scamander, are mentioned by Pomponius Mela: who styles them—famâ, quam naturâ, majora flumina. He says, that they came down from Ida; ipse mons, vetere Divarum certamine, et judicio Paridis memoratus: which we know to be that part called Gargarus, near Lectum. L. 1. C. XVIII. p. 92. What is scarcely to be believed, Mr. M. whom the B. C. upholds in his denial of any such river, and by whom I am so much blamed for inventing it, has in his own Map, and in the same place, inserted this river, though it is said by him that none existed. *Now D'Anville could find no river at Lectum, nor*

Morritt, nor any traveller whose work we can consult. B. C. p. 127. There it however stands in his own Map, and in the same situation, below Alexandrea Troas. There it is fixed indelible, and obvious to any person, who will look after it. What is still more extraordinary, it occurs in the same place, below the same City, in the Map of Mr. Chevalier. How can we expect these Gentlemen to understand Homer, when they do not know their own meaning?

In this manner I have endeavoured to ascertain in some degree the scene of action, according to the design of Homer; and to shew, in what part of the Region the rivers were to be found, according to his determination. But as the whole was a fable, no precise adjustment can be made: nor could any Writers, ancient or modern, discover any true and satisfactory correspondence between the places, as they are supposed to have been determined by the Poet. But as there are some learned Persons, who think otherwise, and insist, that there is an agreement, and propriety: and if they are not observed by me, it is owing to my want of common sense; I will lay before the Reader the chief part of what is said by the B. C. of the discoveries made by Mr. Chevalier, and Mr. Morritt: to whose observations we are told, that the Poet is greatly indebted.

But before we exhibit the accounts afforded by others, it will be proper to consider, what the Poet says himself of the City, and its situation; and of the rivers, which were near it. When Homer framed his divine Poem, he chose to place the scene of the war, concerning

cerning which he was to treat, in the Region called Phrygia Minor. The City, against which the great armament of the Grecians was brought, he called Troy: which name was not known in that Country, till long after the Poet's death, when the Ilias began to be considered as a true history. In this Poem the City is supposed to be situated, εν πεδιῳ, in a plain: and at some distance from Ida, a celebrated Mountain in that Country. When Priam petitions Achilles for leave to burn the dead, he says, *the distance to fetch wood from Ida was great*. Il. Ω. 663. Two branches of the river Scamander ran near each side of the City, which were called the Simoïs and Xanthus; and these formed a junction at some distance below. For it is said of the Goddesses, Juno and Pallas, that they arrived at Troy, (ἱξον Τροιην) just where these two streams met. Il. E. 773. The Scamander itself had its rise far off in a lofty part of the Mountain, where several other rivers had their sources, which ran in different directions. Among others were the Rhesus, Heptaporus, Æsepus, Granicus, and Simoïs.

——ποταμων——

Ὁσσοι απ' Ἰδαιων ορεων ἁλαδε προρεουσι:

* * * * * *

Γρηνικος τε, και Αισηπος, διος τε Σκαμανδρος,

Και Σιμοεις. M. 18. &c.

Hence it is manifest, that neither of the two last rivers had their original fountains below in the plain. After its junction the Scamander

mander is supposed to proceed downward, but for how many miles is quite uncertain, and at last to enter the sea. It is represented as a large river, and very rapid: and accordingly styled by the Poet, μεγας ποταμος, ευρυ ρεων, βαθυρροος, λαβρος, δινηεις, βαθυδινης. But no such river has ever been observed in this region. And though the Ancients endeavoured to find out these streams above, and introduced their names, yet they could never make them accord with the rivers Simoïs and Scamander of the Poet. Hence these names do not seem to be original, but adventitious, and of later date: and the principal persons, who speak of them, such as Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, and Antoninus, in their accounts of them, differ very much. And there is as little agreement among the Moderns. Pliny speaks of the Scamander as large and navigable, and I have therefore placed it according to his disposition in my Map; but no such river was ever in those parts found, as I have always uniformly declared.

The next thing to be determined is the situation of the Camp and Ships, and of the River, with which they were to the left bounded. It has been in a former Treatise shewn, that the Camp was extended upon the beach, and above the Camp the Ships were drawn up κλιμακηδον, in different rows, and files. Il. Ξ. 35. At one end of the Camp were the tents of Achilles and the Myrmidons, to the right; at the other end, to the left, were those of Ajax and his people: and in the Centre were the Tent and Ship of Ulysses. We accordingly find a confirmation of this disposition of things in an account given of

Agamemnon,

Agamemnon, when he wanted with his presence and voice to encourage the whole army.

Βη δ' ιεναι παρα τε κλισιας και νηας Αχαιων.

* * * * * * * * *

Στη δ' επ' Οδυσσηος μεγακητει νηι μελαινη,
Ἡ ῥ' εν μεσσατιῳ εσκε, γεγωνεμεν αμφοτερωσε,
Ἡμεν επ' Αιαντος κλισιη Τελεμωνιαδαο,
Ηδ' επ' Αχιλληος, τοι ῥ' εσχατα νηας εισας
Ειρυσαν, ηνορεη πισυνοι, και καρτει χειρων. Il. Θ. 220.

As the station of Ajax was upon the left, near the Scamander, he will be found uniformly in that situation, except when upon some emergency he is called away. Such an instance is given, when Ulysses was in great danger, and he went to the Centre to relieve him. Il. Λ. 462, &c. Here he made great havock of the Trojans, while Hector was fighting upon the left. Not far from hence the Trojans had passed the wall of the Camp, which was here χθαμαλωτατον, lower, than in other parts, and more easily ascended. In consequence of this situation, Hector was not apprised of the slaughter of his Friends in the Centre, being engaged upon the left near the banks of the Scamander.

——————ωδε που Εκτωρ
Πευθετ', επει ρα μαχης επ' αριστερα μαρνατο πασης,
Οχθας παρ ποταμοιο Σκαμανδρου. Il. Λ. 497.

The

The Poet affords information of some other Chieftains here stationed, by saying,—

———βοὴ δ' ασβεστος ορωρει

Νεσορα τ' αμφι μεγαν, και αρηϊον Ιδομενηα. Il. Λ. 500.

Hector is afterwards himself engaged at some distance nearer the Centre, and was not acquainted with the death of many of his people, who fell on the left by Idomeneus, Meriones, and Antilochus.

Εκτωρ δ' ουκ επευσο Διι φιλος, ουδε τι ηδη

Οττι ῥα οἱ νηων επ' αριστερα δηϊοωντο

Λαοι ὑπ' Αργειων. Il. N. 674.

The Poet then gives us a more particular account of those, who fought on the left of the field of battle; and whose ships, before which they fought, were there drawn up in that direction.

Ενθ' εσαν Αιαντος τε νεες, καὶ Πρωτεσιλαου,

Θιν' εφ' ἁλος πωλιης ειρυμεναι· αυταρ ὑπερθε

Τειχος εδεδμητο χθαμαλωτατον.———

Ενθα δε Βοιωτοι, και Ιαονες ἑλκεχιτωνες,

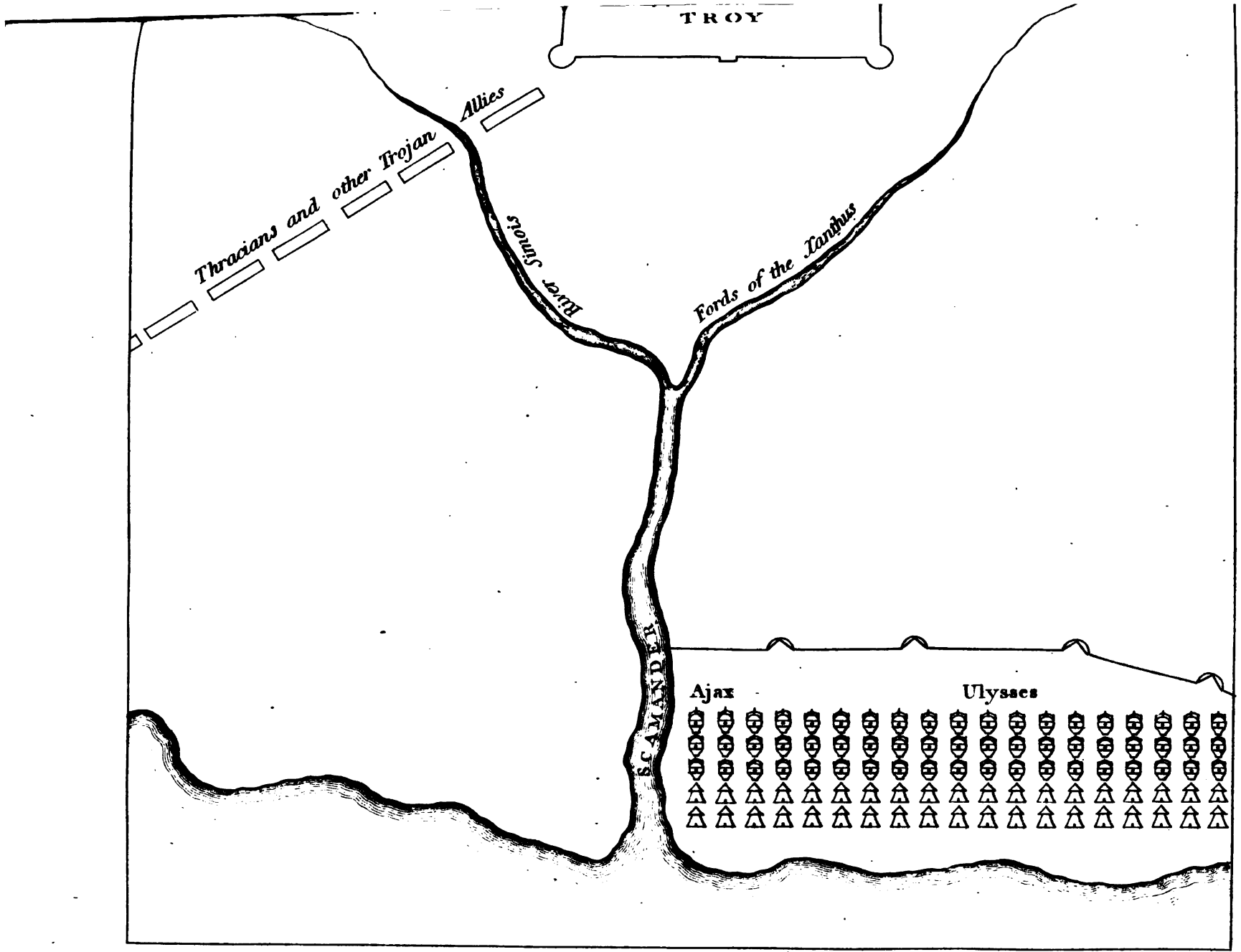
Λοκροι, και Φθιοι, και φαιδιμοεντες Επειοι. Il. N. 681, &c.

Here also the Athenians were arranged under Menestheus----νηων επ' αριστερα. And when Ajax was exhorting his people to exert themselves, and Menelaus looked out to find him, we are told—

Τον δε μαλ' αιψ' ενοησε μαχης επ' αριστερα πασης,

Θαρσυνοντ' ἑταρους. Il. P. 116.

When


TROY
Allies
Thracians and other Trojan
River Simois
Fords of the Xanthus
SCAMANDER
Ajax
Ulysses

When the same Person wanted to discover Nestor's son, Antilochus, he found him in the same station,

Τον δε μαλ' αιψ' ενοησε μαχης επ' αριστερα ταασης. Il. P. 682.

Idomeneus says to Meriones,

Νωϊν δ' ωδ' επ' αριστερ' εχε στρατω. Il. N. 326.

We find in every instance, that μαχης επ' αριστερα, and επ' αριστερα νηων, both mean the same position, the left of the Grecian army, which, we have seen, was bounded by the Scamander. The like accuracy of the Poet may be observed in the account given of the Trojans, who came down upon the Heroes here quartered, and invaded their Tents and Ships. When the Hero Asius passed the Ditch and Rampart, and opposed himself to Idomeneus on the left, it is said,

Εισατο γαρ νηων επ' αριστερα. Il. M. 118.

He was there killed by Idomeneus upon the left of the Grecian Ships. N. 388. When Paris had passed the same Rampart, he came to the station of the same Hero, and here he was found by Hector: for the stress of the conflict, at the ships was chiefly here.

Τον δε ταχ' ευρε μαχης επ' αριστερα δακρυοεσσης
Διον Αλεξανδρον. Il. N. 765.

The Trojans never ventured to make any impression on the right of the Grecians. Achilles says with just confidence—

Ἀμφὶ τε τοι τῇ μὲν κλισιῇ, καὶ νηῒ μελαινῃ
Ἕκτορα καὶ μεμαῶτα μάχης σχήσεσθαι οἰῶ. Il. I. 650.

We have seen, that several Heroes, and particularly Ajax, and his Associates, are said to have been engaged, not μάχης ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ only, but μάχης πάσης. They therefore fought at the extremity of both lines of battle, Trojan as well as Grecian: for they are both included in the terms, μάχης πάσης. That this extremity was upon the left, has been abundantly shewn.

Thus we may perceive the Grecian Camp, and Army to the right and to the left marked out, as it is described by the Poet, and by the persons, who speak of them in the course of the poem. Yet some insist, that this distinction of right and left does not relate to the Grecians, but to the Enemy from Troy: and the whole order of the narration is by these means reversed. But this notion has been too hastily taken up, and too blindly prosecuted.

The Scamander is represented by Strabo, as resembling the Greek letter ὑψιλον, Υ: for it had two streams above, called the Simois and the Xanthus, which at last united, and fell into the main river below. Of these the Simois was to the left; and the other, the Xanthus, to the right. As the Grecian Camp lay upon the right bank of the Scamander (for the left of the Camp was bounded by that river) the Xanthus was at some distance higher up, and opposite to it; and its fords lay in the way to Troy, and from it. Hence it is said of people, who went that way, or returned,

Ἀλλ'

Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥοον ἷξον εὐῤῥειος ποταμοιο,
Ξανθε δινηεντος.—Il. Ξ. 433.

This is repeated more than once upon the like occasion, in the poem. Here was the chief scene of battle,—

Μεσσηγυς Σιμοεντος, ιδε Ξανθοιο ῥοαων. Il. Z. 4.

When the Trojans after great success encamp upon the plain below, and light many fires, it is said,

Τοσσα μεσηγυ νεων ηδε Ξανθοιο ῥοαων
Τρωων καιοντων πυρα φαινετο Ιλιοθι προ. Il. Θ. 556.

From this evidence collectively we learn, that the Grecian Camp, and the river Xanthus, and particularly its fords, also the City Troy itself, were in respect to each other nearly in a direct line from the sea upwards. I have said nothing of the Sigean or Rhœtean promontories, as they are not noticed by Homer; nor have they ever been uniformly determined by Writers, either modern or ancient.

Such according to the Poet is the situation of the Scamander, and the disposition of the Grecian Camp and Army, which to the left were bounded by it. But the British Critic is of a very different opinion: and as his objections may appear of greater force, and his mode of reasoning more precise and convincing, it would be very wrong, if I did not lay the whole at large before the Reader. As the proofs must be deduced from Homer, and cannot elsewhere be

 obtained,

obtained, we may justly expect, that they will be founded upon his authority; and not upon opinions formed in far later times. The principal article to be discussed is couched in the following terms. *The leading feature for determining M. Chevalier's Scamander to be the true Scamander of Homer, is, that it must be on the left of the Trojan army.* p. 123. This leading feature consists in a petitio principii at the first outset. To insist, *that this must be, because that must be,* is an uncommon mode of reasoning; when there is no necessity shewn, nor any authority mentioned. The learned Critic then proceeds. *Mr. B's statement, as appears by the conclusion of the section, depends upon a system he has adopted, of carrying the scene of action from the Hellespont to the coast of the Ægean, towards Alexandria (a system we shall consider under the following head) and consequently he assumes Pliny's new mouth of the Scamander, between Sigeum and Alexandria, for his Scamander. In this he is peculiarly unfortunate; for then, either his Scamander must be the same as Chevalier's, or else the Greeks could not pass that river in their route to the field of battle. This is a dilemma which his hypothesis can never obviate; for, he adds, that the left of the Greek army lay close upon this river. Trace this river, or canal rather, up to its old junction, and unite it with Strabo's Scamander, (the real Simois) or follow it up to Boumar-bachi, and you will find that Troy is open, and no Scamander of Strabo's is to be passed. This system is directly contrary to Homer in all its parts.* p. 123. I must just stop to say, that there is not the least account in all Homer of the Scamander being ever passed. The notion is founded

on

on a mistake. And as to the formidable dilemma, it is of a more flimsy texture, than the finest spun cobweb; in which nothing but a fly, or a grub, can be taken. This mistake however also occurs in the first part of the Review (for December 1798, p. 633.) and inferences are made from the Scamander being passed by the Grecian Army: whereas it was only the Xanthus, an arm of the chief stream, which was crossed, as is manifest throughout.

But let us next place ourselves on the plain of Bounar-bachi; let us look down the plain towards the Hellespont with Chevalier; let us march down with Hector towards the Grecian camp, between Sigeum and Rheteum, and we have immediately Chevalier's Scamander on the left, *as we ought to have.*

μαχης επ' αριστερα ωασης. Λ. 498.

In answer to this, Mr. B. has a variety of quotations, to show that Ajax was encamped on the left *of the Greek Army, and fought on the* left. *But does not Mr. B. perceive, that the* left *of two opposite armies is exactly the most distant point of their two lines, and that the* left *of the Trojans must be opposed to the* right *of the Greeks?* Εισατο γαρ νηων επ' αριστερα, M. 115, *is the left of the Greeks, not of the Trojans. Hector was on the* left *of the Trojans, near the Scamander, and therefore heard nothing of the slaughter Ajax was making on the* right *of the Trojans, where he slew Doryclus, Pandorus, Lysander, Pyrasus, and Pylartus. Lin.* 490. *It was not till Cebriones intimated this destruction to Hector* (*Lin.* 521.)

the

that he removed to the right of his own line, and stood opposite to Ajax, who fought on the left of the Greeks. Here the battle continued, till, after a variety of intermediate circumstances, the ship of Protesilaus was fired. p. 124. The B. C. is totally mistaken. Ajax fought in the Centre, whither he had been summoned to assist Ulysses. Il. A. 472, and Hector at that time was upon the left of the Greeks, and upon the right of the Trojans, as is manifest from verse 497: of which I shall take farther notice.

Much intelligence might be expected from this long and learned process above, and much probably would be gained, were it not for some deficiences, which are observable through the whole. There are some requisites, with which we cannot dispense in any writings: and these are *to be intelligible, and true.* To these might be added another ingredient, which is *to be consistent.* Indeed if the two latter be wanting, the less intelligible the arguments are, the better for the Writer. The learned Critic in the instances above has shewn much ingenuity, and has followed the example of Dædalus in his Labyrinth in Crete. Of this it is said,

Mille viis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi
Falleret indeprensus et irremeabilis error.

How inconclusive this series of argument appears to be upon consideration, the Reader will judge; and to him I leave the determination. That there are some instances of inconsistency, and some mistakes, I will take the liberty to point out. It is said of Mr. B. that *he*

assumes

assumes Pliny's new mouth of the Scamander, between Sigeum and Alexandria, for his Scamander. To this I am obliged to answer, that I never framed any such system. Nothing of this nature was adopted by me from Pliny in any part of my Treatise: nor did it ever enter into my thoughts. His Scamander, as well as his Xanthus and Simoïs, is put down in my Map: but I repeatedly mentioned, that no such rivers could be found. I also formed a conjecture, that the supposed river of Homer was below Troas Alexandrea; but I could not determine concerning it. All this the B. C. knew, and has mentioned.

If we return to the B. C. we shall find it insisted upon, that *the Scamander of Mr. Chevalier was the true Scamander:* for it was on the left of the Trojan army, when drawn up in order of battle: consequently according to this disposition it was upon the right of the Grecians, and of the encampment of Achilles. p. 123. which is mentioned more than once. As this is contrary to the opinion of Mr. B. the learned Critic proceeds to prove it by a circumstance, which never was, nor could be contradicted,—*that the left of the Trojans must be opposed to the right of the Grecians.* He farther insists upon another unnecessary truth; of which however he does not properly avail himself. This consists in his shewing, that the words εισατο γαρ νηων επ' αριστερα (Il. M. 115,) mean *on the left of the Greeks, and not of the Trojans.* p. 124. Yet he immediately adds, that Hector, who is expressly said by the Poet to be fighting, μαχης επ' αριστερα ωασης, *upon the left of the whole battle,* was on the left of the Trojans. p. 124.

In

It has been shewn, that upon the left of the Grecian army were among others the stations of Ajax, Idomeneus, Meriones, Antilochus, Nestor, and their people: and here also were the ships of Protesilaus. The Hero Asius came νηων επ' αριστερα, consequently μαχης επ' αριστερα, and was here killed by the Cretan Monarch. I have before said, that Ajax was called to the Centre, when he went to assist Ulysses: and many fell by his prowess. Of this advantage over the Trojans Hector was ignorant, and the Poet affords us the reason, which has been mentioned before---

—ωδε πω Εκτωρ
Πευθετ', επει ρα μαχης επ' αριστερα μαρναντο πασης,
Οχθας παρ ποταμοιο Σκαμανδρε, τη ρα μαλιστα
Ανδρων πιπτε καρηνα· βοη δ' ασβεστος ορωρει
Νεστορα τ' αμφι μεγαν, και αρηϊον Ιδομενηα. Il. Λ. 493.

He was fighting upon the Scamander near Nestor and Idomeneus, who were upon the left.

Here Antilochus was soon afterwards wounded by Paris: and when he returned to his station, and Menelaus looked out to find him, we are told———

Τον δε μαλ' αιψ' ενοησε μαχης επ' αριστερα πασης. Il. P. 682.

He discovered him upon the left of the line of battle. Hector therefore, who opposed him in the same station with Nestor and Idomeneus, was upon the right of his own line, and the left of the Grecian

Grecian army. And as he fought, οχθας παρ ποταμοιο Σκαμανδρε, *upon the banks of the Scamander*, it is manifest, that the river was near the tents of the people, with whom he was engaged. These were, as has been shewn, Ajax, Nestor, and Idomeneus, upon the left of the Grecian army, and to the right of the Trojans. Homer being a Grecian in his disposition of things, forms his ideas from the situation of his own people, and not of the Enemy.

The B. C. contrary to his own purpose proves ultimately every thing, that I have asserted. He had mentioned the opinion of Mr. C. concerning the river; and he says, p. 124. l. 1. *In answer to this, Mr. B. has a variety of quotations, to show that Ajax was encamped on the* left *of the Greek army, and fought on the* left. To these quotations I shall take the liberty of adding one more in confirmation of what I have said. This shall be from the Author himself, and from the very same page, line 14. Here he says, that Hector changed his situation *to the right of his own line, and stood opposite to Ajax, who fought on the left of the Greeks. Here the battle continued, till, after a variety of intermediate circumstances, the ship of Protesilaus was fired, which was on the left, as well as Ajax's.* N. 681. Conformably to this the Poet in the account of this engagement tells us, as has been seen,

Ενθ' εσαν Αιαντος τε νεες, και Πρωτεσιλαϐ. N. 681.
Here were the ships of Ajax and Protesilaus.

Now it has been shewn, that these ships, as well as those of Nestor and Idomeneus, were μαχης επ' αριστερα; and when Hector engaged here,

Λ. 499, he fought, ὀχθας παρ ποταμοιο Σκαμανδρε, *upon the banks of the Scamander.* Hence from the evidence, afforded by the Author himself, it is manifest, that Hector was engaged upon the left of the Grecians, and that here was the river, by which the Camp and Ships were on that side bounded.

The Reader has been witness to much art and industry, misaplied in order to prove, that a river did not run on the left of a camp, but on the right. How must he be surprised to find the same person after all maintain, that it neither was upon the left, nor the right, but ran through the middle.

O! curas hominum! quantum est in rebus inane!

The learned Critic owns, that, though there is an objection to this statement, and a strong one: yet *it is a matter of fact.——the mouth must have been between the two capes, and must interfere with the camp.* p. 133. For this, he intimates, that he brings no proof, *as having hitherto no satisfactory solution.* He shews plainly this matter of fact to be a mere theory; and he recommends *it most earnestly to others to determine,* what he cannot prove himself. p. 133. l. 5. He adds, that *it does not follow, that this circumstance is incapable of solution, because no solution has been yet obtained.* It may be so: but it affords a very poor prospect: and the same way of arguing may be applied to any paradox whatever. An ancient Philosopher denied that there was any such thing, as motion: and we may say, that there has been for

two

two thousand years *no satisfactory solution. But it does not follow, that this circumstance is incapable of solution, because no solution has been yet obtained.* Hence we are taught to admit every absurdity, if there is no direct proof to the contrary. If a person insists, that he saw sunbeams frozen at Spitzbergen, and water pulverized at North Cape, we must not refuse our assent, but wait for a solution. My patience, I fear, would be exhausted, long before it arrived.

I may therefore be thought reprehensible, if I do not give credit to Mr. Chevalier, who maintains the same opinion, as the B. C. in respect to the Scamander. He says, that *even in summer it continued to convey its pure and perennial, though less copious stream, through the midst of the Camp, through which the Simois, after having joined it, discharged its winter torrents.—It may be concluded, that the Scamander, supplied the Camp with fresh water,—that its current was so shallow, as to prove no inconvenience to the Combatants.*—Higher up, *above the confluence of the two rivers, the stream of the Scamander, being more confined, was no doubt deeper.* Mr. C. p. 105. Notes. What a number of assumptions are here, without the least evidence? How can we suppose, that a river represented as large and deep by Homer, should be admitted into a camp, and separate one part from the other? that it should be deeper before the junction with another river, than after such a junction? that it should be no inconvenience to the Combatants, as being shallower at the mouth than higher up: and that it should afford fresh water for an army, where it must be replete with ooze and brine? Lastly, that its

waters were *less copious in summer*, p. 105. when we are told expressly p. 82. C. XI. in the same Treatise, that *the river is never subject to increase or diminution*. As to what has been urged, that *higher up, and above the confluence of the two rivers, the Scamander being more confined was no doubt deeper*: it is mere fancy contrary to fact: for at this very part it was shallowest. Here were Ξανθοι ποροι, *the fords of the river*, which people on foot passed. This is all we know of it: all beyond is idle conjecture.

If then we ask, to what purpose was this long process carried on, we are told, that it was to obviate *the system of Mr. Bryant, and its principle, which ought to be resisted*. British Critic, for December, p. 632. What necessity there may be for this opposition, and what good has been effected from the uncommon zeal shewn, the Reader will judge. As in the course of the detail above we should expect, that the chief of the arguments brought by Mr. M. and the B. C. would be deduced from Homer, it is wonderful, that we hear so little of the Poet. And even instead of Mr. Morritt, we are for several pages treated with the opinions of Mr. Chevalier; with whom we are not necessarily concerned. We are however told by the B. C. that, *when he first viewed the stream assumed by M. Chevalier for the Scamander, pleased as he was to see the geographical difficulties of the Iliad removed*, yet *he was not without scepticism as to the fact. We saw*, he says, *a brook of Mr. Wood's converted into a river by M. Chevalier, and a course of five miles*.

miles augmented to ten or twelve: p. 633. Who would think, that this scanty brook could possibly be supposed to have been the Scamander of Homer, though changed by Mr. C. to a river of ten or twelve miles? For notwithstanding this change, it is said in the same page at the bottom, to be *so narrow, that a tree falling across it might be said to form a bridge.* We see, that there was some small difference in the representations of the two travellers above; but it by no means determines, which is in the right: nor proves this to be the river in question. The B. C. hesitated for some time in giving any preference: *But,* he tells us, *it now appears, that Mr. Wood was deceived by the same error which misled those who had preceded him, and went four and twenty miles up into the crags of Ida, for what lay under his feet in the plain, and close to the sea shore.* p. 633. I do not perceive, how this can at all relate to the measurement of a brook converted to a river; or to any preference to either Mr. Chevalier, or Mr. Wood. And it is, I believe, the first time, that a person, who wanted to ascertain the course of a river, was blamed for going to its source. The same exceptions are renewed in the number for February, p. 118. where the river is again styled a brook: and mention is made of *the vain researches of Chandler and Wood, to find a Simois and Scamander,* line 14. and it is farther said, *that they were both wandering in the heights of Ida to find a site for Troy, although Homer declares it was built in the plain.* line 15. Surely this is a too licentious, and unguarded way of proceeding. Where is any thing said by either of those Gentlemen

men to authorize such an assertion, that they were bewildered in so idle a pursuit? This is spoken with too little caution: and it comes particularly ungracious from the B. C. who so zealously defends Mr. Chevalier and Morritt. For they have both wandered in quest of this City; and though Homer has declared, ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, *it was founded in the plain*, they have contrary to conviction, placed it at Bounarbachi, on a lofty eminence; which by Mr. Chevalier is esteemed a part of Ida. There, as I have repeatedly said, it stands conspicuous, and the situation is marked by indelible characters, Troja, Trojæ situs, and Troja Vetus. See Maps, &c. of Mr. C. and M. Thus these Gentlemen are defended, who were guilty of the mistake; and those, who were innocent, are ridiculed and condemned.

Some Gentlemen are mentioned, who have visited this region; and it is said, that Mr. Wood was deceived; and that *M. Chevalier's Scamander is really a discovery*, may be proved from their evidence. B. C. for December, p. 633.—*They all agree that the modern issue of the Scamander is artificial; that the line by which it is conducted is strait, and totally dissimilar from the natural windings of a river; and that the bank is formed of earth thrown out of the channel.* ibid. In this I cannot find out any resemblance of the River in Homer, nor any proof of Mr. C's rectitude: nor do I in the least understand the argument. This foss being artificial shews, that it was not the Scamander: but proves nothing in respect to any other stream. Yet the B. C. assures us, *It is this discovery of the Scamander which unravels all the difficulties*

that

that have disfigured the geography of Homer. To this I can only say, that the Map of Mr. C. exhibits the most confused scene of Troy and its rivers, that I ever beheld: and that it does not agree in any article with the accounts in Homer. Mr. C. and Mr. M. make the river take its rise below the City, and *so narrow*, says the B. C. (to prove its certainty) *that a tree falling across it might well be said to form a bridge from side to side:---a Scamander to the left of the Trojan line.* p. 633. 634. Thus, as I have said before, the ποταμος μεγας, βαθυρροος, βαθυδινης, is reduced to a millbrook, and a fallen willow will serve for a bridge: and we are told, that the difficulties in Homer are by these means removed. Yet Homer tells us expressly, that it was a far more ample stream, and that it rose in the Mountains of Ida. Iliad. M. 19 and 21.

In page 117 of the British Critic (for February) we find some farther observations to the same purpose. *If the evidence of M. Chevalier stood singly upon his own assertion, it would still be entitled to the same degree of credit which all other human evidence claims, where there is no suspicion of corrupt influence or collusion.* This with submission is quite unnecessary: for I do not know, that any body doubts about the articles, to which Mr. C. was an eyewitness. They are his inferences, and determinations, which are denied: and which are inconsistent with the original descriptions of the Poet. The B. C. then has these words, which we have mentioned before,—*Since Mr. Morritt has revisited the Troad, and confirmed all the essential circumstances of M. Chevalier's*

Chevalier's description, and those circumstances correspond in all their peculiarities with the delineation of Homer; either Mr. Bryant must submit to this testimony, or he must maintain that Mr. Morritt, with all the English gentlemen who have been upon the same spot, have conspired with Mr. Chevalier to support a falsehood. I beg pardon: for the B. C. seems to be totally mistaken in his reasoning: and no such alternative can be maintained. We are not here concerned with the accurateness of Mr. C's views; but with his improper reasoning, and wrong application of the articles, which he saw. These inferences, and conclusions of Mr. C. have not been by any means confirmed by Mr. Morritt. What is meant by the *delineation of Homer*, I know not: but this is certain, that Mr. Chevalier in his determining the situation of ancient places, and in his reasoning concerning their original history, and correspondence, does not always agree with Mr. M. and he goes contrary to Homer in almost every instance. The Gentlemen mentioned above are, I make no doubt, persons of strict truth and unimpeached honour. But the dilemma framed by the B. C. is idle. For Mr. B. may doubt of Mr. Chevalier's or their judgment, without any supposition, that they have been guilty of a falsehood. The B. C. continues his argument. *The same falsehood must likewise have been propagated eighteen hundred years ago by Strabo, who declares, that the face of the whole country is in correspondence with the descriptions of the Iliad, and that the features are marked too strongly to be mistaken.* p. 117. On the contrary Strabo assures us, that he himself, and Demetrius, also Hestiæa Alexandrina, who wrote upon Homer, could never ascertain

tain where the City stood: L. 13. p. 894: C. and that Hellanicus, who did pretend to fix it, was intirely in the wrong. Two of these lived in the very Region, and no opinions at this day can equal their authority. As this appeal above to Strabo is made in order to support Mr. Chevalier's notions by the evidence of that Writer, which is supposed to coincide with them; it will be worth while to consider first, what Mr. C. himself thinks of this auxiliary. We shall find Strabo repeatedly censured by this Gentleman; and all that he knew concerning Troy, is said to have been borrowed from *one Demetrius of Scepsis*. p. 49. 57. He is mentioned as *erroneous* and *obscure*. p. 58. 59. 60: *who led others into many errors and absurdities*; and who *had never visited the place, which he described*. The B. C. also allows, that there is some little variation in the accounts of places by Strabo, in which he differs from the two Gentlemen above: but he adds, *he differs from them essentially in names only*. p. 117. But, though by way of extenuation the word *only* is introduced, still this seems to be a fatal difference: especially when the authority of one person is to be confirmed by the evidence of another, who disagrees in the most important articles. How can we trust to any maps, or to any descriptions of a Country, if the names of places are not uniformly described. If we put Derby for Dublin, or Gotham for Godalming, there is an end of all geographical truth. *The grand error of Strabo*, says the B. C. *is, that he has transmuted the names of the Simois and Scamander*. If Strabo, as we have seen it asserted above, has shewn

the face of the whole Country *to correspond with the descriptions in the Iliad*, so that we cannot be misled, how comes he to be thus mistaken in these two essential circumstances? If he is not mistaken, how happens it, that the B. C. and these two Gentlemen deviate from him? Why do they in contradiction to him introduce the Simoïs as the chief river, and to the left, and make it enter the sea? Why do they confound the Scamander, μεγας ποταμος βαθυδινης, whose source Homer places above Troy in Mount Ida, and reduce it to a little brook below Troy, so narrow, that a *tree falling across would serve for a bridge*? Through the whole of these arguments we have fancy instead of proofs; and no evidence from Homer is obtained: he seems to be quite out of the question.

The B. C. mentions more than once the great discovery of Mr. Chevalier: not only in the rectifying of a supposed mistake in Strabo: but *a still greater discovery is the restoring of the true Scamander, which was lost out of our maps.*——*That this is a fact, and no hypothesis, may be seen by consulting Mr. D'Anville's Map of Asia Minor and Syria, and M. De la Rochette's Map of the Propontis. Two higher authorities there are not.* p. 118. And what are these eminent Geographers introduced to prove? to shew, that in Mr. D'Anville's Map—*no trace of Chevalier's Scamander will be found, nor any issue of a stream into the Ægean. In De la Rochette's map, the brook* (Scamander) *appears as it was taken from Mr. Wood, reduced in its course by half* (and the utmost length of it is supposed to have been but five or six miles) *and unknown to*

him

him for the Scamander. ibid. Surely this is not at all to the credit of Mr. Chevalier, nor does it betray much sagacity in the B. C. For, when this discovery of Mr. Chevalier is to be proved, two persons of the highest authority are introduced to shew, that they knew nothing of it. Yet it is still maintained, that *Chevalier has discovered the true Scamander, and Homer is consistent.* p. 119. To the evidence of the Gentlemen above should be added the account given by Mr. Morritt of *Strabo and Strabo's informer,* Demetrius of Scepsis, to whom as he intimates, *the Scamander seems not to have been known.* p. 113. Yet it has been said by the B. C. p. 117.—*Strabo declares, that the face of the whole country is in correspondence with the descriptions of the Iliad, and that the features are marked too strongly to be mistaken.* Presently we hear a different story, and we find Strabo in the very same page represented, as mistaken, and to have been guilty of *a grand error,* in not knowing one river from the other. After this, strange to tell! the B. C. asks, p. 119. *Shall it be said then, that Demetrius, who lived at Scepsis, did not know the name of the river that washed the walls of his own City?* He answers----*yes.*----*This is an argument of great appearance, and is confirmed by Strabo's account of the Scepsians, who did not know their own river.* We are here bewildered in an almost inexplicable maze; and the only inference, that can be made, I think, is this. If the two Modern Geographers of so great characters had so little acquaintance with these rivers: and if Strabo could not distinguish between them: also if Demetrius, a native, did not *know the stream, that washed the walls of his own City*; I fear, that after

so many Centuries our researches are quite fruitless, and our determinations little better than a dream. Not only Demetrius of Scepsis and Strabo, but Hestiæa Alexandrina, who lived in the town Troas, and wrote concerning the war, could not determine, where Troy stood. Strabo L. 13. p. 894. Yet we see Persons at this day determining about the City, and its Rivers, presuming to have more intelligence, than the Natives had two thousand years ago. They have accordingly told us, as has been seen, that the River was deeper before its junction, than afterwards; that it ran through the Camp; and was no impediment to the Combatants, but of great use; as it afforded fresh water at its mouth, and was shallow at its entrance into the sea. This is the consequence of the evidence, which they have laboured to introduce.

I must confess, that amidst the great evolution of words, and the quick transitions of the B. C. in this Treatise, it is not always easy to apprehend his meaning. The tendency of the whole is too much enveloped to be easily discovered. He mentions the places upon the Ægean sea, and the order, in which they are represented by Pliny. *This series*, he says, *like many others in Pliny, is confused, but yet taken from good authority*. p. 121. What signifies this authority, if Pliny describes things so as not to be understood? *We have here*, says the B. C. *three Scamanders; one that falls into the Ægean, and afterwards Xanthus and Palæ-Scamander, both the same as the first, and both falling with the Simois into the* Greek harbour. *But we have likewise a fact,*

of

of which both Chevalier and Morritt avail themselves, to prove that the diversion of the Scamander from its natural course, into the channel it now occupies, is as old as Pliny.—This is an evidence of high importance. p. 121. Here is matter of great importance mentioned, which does not seem to be of the least consequence. We want to know, if it be possible to be obtained, where we can find the river of Homer? And we have above a most unsatisfactory process, and infinite labour expended, to shew, where it is not to be found. Instead of any true discovery we are treated with three Scamanders, a number unknown to the Poet, and to all the learned world; and we are told, how things were in the days of Pliny, instead of the time of Homer. But I may appear too precipitate: for in the Review for the Month of December mention is made of the Gentlemen, who have visited this part of the world; and *they all assert that the old channel of the Scamander to its junction with the Simois, is still visible, still capable of being traced through its whole extent, and still receives the drippings of its ancient occupant, however now diverted in an opposite direction.* p. 633. This channel, which seems to be no better than a dry ditch, runs, contrary to the course of most streams, near the coast, and parallel to it. And notwithstanding the elegance of the language, I cannot believe, that the ancient occupant, which afforded these drippings, was the Scamander of Homer, which took its rise in Mount Ida. Nor could the junction of the rivers have been *close to the sea shore* (p. 633, line 26,) which is represented by the Poet higher up, and near Troy. But the B. C. insists,

insists, that such was the river's course: and that there were three Scamanders, as we have above seen; the first of which, together with the Xanthus, and Palæscamander, fall into the Ægean and *the Greek harbour*. (February, p. 121, line 24.) This is mentioned as an article of great importance: yet the learned Writer soon afterwards seems dissatisfied with his determination; and much in doubt about one of them. He accordingly says, *we must leave the Commentators of Pliny to dispose of his Xanthus as well as circumstances will permit.* (p. 121, line 32.) This is a very compendious way of compromising difficulties. In the mean time, during these disquisitions the Camp and City are not considered, nor the station of the Ships the least thought of. *We must therefore leave the task to future Commentators to dispose of them as well as circumstances will permit.*

As I had engaged in a subject, which was rather new, it was reasonable to suppose, that it was liable to opposition: and consequently it was not unexpected, when it arrived. But from whatever quarter it came, I imagined, that it would be conducted with decency and propriety, and a strict regard to truth. Instead of these I have been assailed with boyish petulance, and wrangling, and have found, instead of a fair and ingenuous disquisition, a continual disposition to cavil; with evasion, and subterfuge, not worthy of a person of letters. And this has been attended with great contempt, and, I am obliged to say, with many unfair representations. It gives me unfeigned concern, if any thing, which I here say, should affect the character of the Person, who

who presides as the true British Critic. But it must be considered, that I have also a character to maintain, which is equally dear to me. This has been unduly arraigned, both now, and at other times, as I can, if called upon, amply shew: and these unjust censures have proceeded from a quarter, whence I little thought, that they would have been derived. I leave it to the learned World to judge, whether I have said too much after so much unmerited hostility?

Towards the end of the Review, p. 133, there is a compliment paid, attended with a wish, *that Mr. B. had youth and strength to take a voyage to*, what is called, *the Troad*. But the compliment has been cancelled, before it was made, by much antecedent illwill, and false allegations. As to the expedition proposed, I would as soon go in quest of Utopia, or of the Carib Island of Robinson Crusoe, and his Cabin; and I should return with equal emolument. A Person in the vicinity of the Wreken, or Plinlimmon, may be more successful in his inquiries, than within the purlieus of Ida. From the two former he would obtain just nothing: from the latter, worse than nothing. For no intelligence is preferable to wrong information. It is better to rest totally in the dark, than to be misled by an Ignis Fatuus.

Before I conclude, I shall be obliged to ask the British Critic a few questions; and recapitulate some articles, which are passed.

Why did he assert so incautiously, that Mr. Bryant had imputed prejudice to all, who oppose him: when his treatise is open to the whole

whole World: and the World must see manifestly, that the assertion is groundless? Review for December p. 632.

Why did he assert, that Mr. B. challenged all opponents, and dared every kind of hostility, when there is not in all that he has written, the least hint of any such presumption and defiance? p. 632.

Why did he so ungraciously insinuate, that the erudition of Mr. B. was *a mass* of learning without common sense: by which was meant a mere farrago, and confused Chaos: learning without reason, and knowledge without judgment? p. 633.

Why did he again shew his sovereign contempt by repeating the same censure,—*This is a Reasoner, who imputes prejudice to all who shall controvert his hypothesis?* He should have known, that caution and imputation are very different. p. 640.

Why did he with the like contempt affirm, that the learning of Mr. B. is only *pageantry*, and his erudition *trappings*: his suppositions *extravagant beyond all bounds: that he raises objections as children build houses on the sand, merely for the pleasure of kicking them down?* p. 633, 634, 635.

Why does he speak of him as a person of probity without veracity? Why did he not at the same time give him sight without vision, and speech without elocution? and insist, that truth and perjury are synonymous? p. 639.

Why

Why did he insist, that the Treatise of Mr. B. was written thirty years before the publication, from Mr. B's own testimony: whereas it is expressly said, that the groundwork only was then laid? How came he to think, that the commencement of a thing and the completion were the same?

How came he to insist, that the same article was written in two different Treatises at the same instant: a paradox never before heard of? Why did he not also maintain, that a man may be in two places at once? p. 640.

Why did he give way to such illwill and intemperance, as to say, that Mr. Morritt's indignation is just, *but not half, what Mr. B. deserves?* How must the Reader smile, when he finds, that this violent wrath originates on account of a supposed Sibyl, little better than a common Gipsey; whose father was turned into a woman, and then back again to a man; and whose whole history is a fable! p. 640.

Why did he affirm, that Mr. B. was of a decided opinion, when these were three articles mentioned, and he determined upon none? p. 641. Surely there never was such a mistake.

Why did he so untruly affirm, that Mr. B. had fixed the original Troy in Egypt; and then make a train of inferences from it, when Mr. B. so repeatedly mentions his diffidence, and has never determined about it: but left it intirely to the judgment of the Reader? p. 634.

Why did he affirm, that from the rape of Helen to the conclusion of the war, there were but fourteen years, when Homer says, that there were twenty? p. 636.

Why did he assert, that ten years afterwards, when she was returned to Sparta, she was at most but fifty four years old? whereas, if there be any consistence in fable, it may be proved from her brothers of the same age, who had been upon the Argonautic expedition, that she must have been far above an hundred. p. 637.

Why did he give to Agamemnon such extensive rule, almost over the whole Peloponnesus, when six Provinces only are mentioned by Homer, and he makes five of them independent of him? p. 638.

Why likewise did he make him sovereign over so many Cities in the same region, when the Poet in his Catalogue out of fifty, and more, allots only eleven to his command? p. 638.

Why did he make Argos in any degree dependent upon Agamemnon's Capital Mycene, when Homer expressly declares, that it was under another King (Diomede) of great authority, and power? p. 638.

Why did he suppose, that Ithaca, the Island of Ulysses, was attached to Epirus? whereas Homer makes no mention of Epirus: but places the region in after times so called, under the dominion of another Chieftan: hence it could not belong to Ulysses. p. 642.

How could he run into this mistake, about Ithaca, when all history,

tory, and every Map, must shew, that it lay opposite to Achaia in the Peloponnesus, and not far from Pylos, and the realm of ancient Nestor?

Why did he assert, that the Grecians before the war of Troy, lived scattered abroad in Villages, and not cooped up in Cities, when Homer mentions so many Cities of antiquity and repute: and the Author himself speaks of them in some parts as so numerous, that Writers could hardly arrange them in true order? p. 637.

Why did he maintain, when Greece was in a *predatory* state, and was overrun with roving banditti, that people in these defenceless villages were in a state of *comparative safety?* p. 637.

Why did he maintain this paradox above, when Homer on the contrary intimates, that even large Cities were not secure without walls? ibid.

Why did he, in order to make the great army under Agamemnon at so early a period credible, intimate from the description given by Mr. Morritt, that it was owing to the people being rude and uncivilized: and then add this corollary,—*That an uncivilized state of society is much more likely to produce armies of great magnitude, than a period after civilization has taken place?* ibid.

Why did he not consider, and solve, what his Friend, Mr. M. says to the contrary in another place, where he intimates, that the

Grecians before the war of Troy were by no means uncivilized? Why does he pass over in silence such an instance of inconsistency? If this were the real state of the Country, all the arguments for its wonderful population, and for the great armies, which are supposed to have been raised, amount to nothing.

Why does he pass over the dilemma, into which his friend is brought by these notions? He says,—*We should reflect, that soon after the Trojan wars Greece underwent a cruel revolution.* Among other misfortunes we are told, that *the manners and civilization of Greece, of which Homer is at once a witness and a proof, were thrown back into barbarism, from which neither their arts nor sciences emerged, till the age of the Pisistratidæ.* This civilization, and these arts and sciences, must have existed before the war, if they were ruined so soon after. But the Author has mentioned, that all before was rude and barbarous. And if they did exist, how could the Poet, who was born two or three, or, as some say, four hundred years after the war, have been witness to an event so far antecedent? Science is said to have revived in the time of the Pisistratidæ. But Homer could no more share an advantage after his death, than he could a blessing before his birth. In the interval between the two æras, Learning and Philosophy did increase greatly. But the Author speaks of it as a time of obscurity, and ignorance. I want therefore to know that age of civilization, which was so early ruined, and so late in its revival: of which Homer was *a witness and a proof.*

How

How could the British Critic be so mistaken, as to deny, that Attis, and Cybele Berecynthia, were not Trojan Deities: and to affirm, that they did not belong to the coast of the Ægean sea, and of the Hellespont? whereas Virgil, Apollonius, and every Writer, that describes them, place them particularly in the Region of Troas; and also mention their worship upon the coast, and upon Mount Ida. p. 641.

Why did he reprehend Mr. B. for a passage quoted from Libanius, and affirm it to be contrary to the ancient Historians? whereas no Historian has a syllable about it excepting one, Herodotus, who is the father of history; who lived at the time: and he has afforded a full confirmation. p. 639.

Why did he insist, that the title Ægyptius given to a person in Ithaca by Homer, had no relation to Egypt, contrary to all analogy, and grammar, and (if I may be allowed in this one instance to speak so boldly) contrary to common sense? How came he not to distinguish between an epithet and a proper name? p. 641.

How could he venture to maintain, that the history of Tantalus, the son of Jupiter Phrygius, the King of Cappadocia, and of his son Pelops with his ivory shoulder, was as regular, consequently, as it is intimated, as credible, as any of the Saxon dynasties during the Heptarchy? Neither Hengist, nor Horsa, supped with the Gods; nor was the son of Penda eaten, and boiled a second time. p. 635.

Why did he affirm, that Homer never was in Egypt, because in

his

his Poems about Troy in Phrygia, he makes no mention of the Pyramids, near Ida, or the Scamander? p. 642.

Why did he maintain, that *Homer himself proves his ignorance of Egypt, when he tells us, that a bird could not fly in a whole year to the extent of Menelaus's wanderings in that country?* p. 641. Whereas there is not a word said of Egypt, or the extent of it, nor of the Herbe's wandering there. The Poet is speaking of the vastness of the ocean, which a bird could not traverse, and return, in that time. How can he from a Birds flying over the ocean prove, that Homer never was in Egypt?

As Mr. Morritt has done Mr. B. the honour of giving an answer to what he had written, the B. C. seems not to be sufficiently upon his guard, when he mentions, that out of an hundred and twenty three arguments he has considered only forty one. p. 634. This is an uncommon way of confuting a treatise, when two parts out of three are left intirely unnoticed. I could add to these strictures largely, were I required; but I trust, that what I have said will be sufficient.

These mistakes, which originated in the luxuriancy of Mr. Morritt's fancy, the British Critic has taken to himself by his adoption and sanction: and, as if the animadversions of the former Gentleman were not sufficient, he has considerably increased them. There is one Person in particular, to whom the world will necessarily look up, as responsible for these misrepresentations. And this question, as I have said

said before, will be put to him, and he will be asked,—*If he could not see such mistakes, why did he write? If he did see them, why did he support them contrary to conviction and conscience?* Whoever assumes the prerogative of judging upon all Science, and determining upon every branch of Literature; lastly of passing such severe sentence repeatedly upon unfortunate delinquents, should be more upright and perfect himself.

But the learned Critic may declare, as I have before intimated, that neither the mistakes, nor the strictures in his Review, were from his own pen. He may insist, that the confusion of sentences, and the confusion of ideas; also the inconsistency, and manifold misconceptions, must shew, that they were from another hand. Why then were they adopted? And granting the fact, this excuse affords no satisfaction, nor consolation, to me. If I am assasinated, it is of little consequence, whether I am stabbed with a keen and envenomed stiletto: or goaded by a dirk or dagger, more dull, and worse tempered. He, that applies the tool, is answerable for the consequences.

FINIS.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS

ON THE

TOPOGRAPHY OF TROY, &c.

AS GIVEN

BY HOMER, STRABO, AND THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHERS;

IN ANSWER TO

MR. BRYANT'S LAST PUBLICATIONS.

BY

J. B. S. MORRITT, Esq.

SI MENS NON LÆVA FUISSET,
TROJAQUE NUNC STARES, PRIAMIQUE AUX ALTA MANERES.

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ADDITIONAL REMARKS

ON THE

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE TROAD, &c.

IN the courſe of laſt ſpring, Mr. Bryant publiſhed in anſwer to a Book of mine* ſome Obſervations; in which I was informed for the firſt time, that I had miſtaken Vindication for Abuſe, and with the moſt diſingenuous malice, had blackened and detracted from a character univerſally and deſervedly eſteemed by all men of literature. If I was in fact guilty of this charge, I merited, for I *provoked*, the anſwer Mr. Bryant has honoured me with; but as it did not appear to me to contribute at all to the ſupport of his hypotheſis, I diſregarded the perſonal cenſures which he was pleaſed to inflict upon me. Unfortunately for himſelf the learned Conductor of the Britiſh Critic differed from Mr. Bryant; not only on the ſubject of the Trojan War, but alſo on the opinion he formed of my publication; in which he did not perceive that *virulence of invective*, that *mean ſpirit of diſingenuous cavil* attributed to it, by that Gentleman. This has drawn upon him† a reply, which, as it might be expected, is longer and ſtronger in proportion to the offence, and to the literary character of the learned Conductor; who differed from Mr. Bryant on two points, whereas I had the leſs misfortune of only differing upon one. My petulance, and

NOTES.

* Some Obſervations on a Vindication of Homer.— † Expoſtulation to the Britiſh Critic.

virulence are of courſe alluded to a ſecond time; but as I believe few who read my book, and I truſt ſtill fewer who know my character, ſeriouſly entertain this opinion of me, I ſhould have continued to acquieſce in ſilence, if I had not thought that ſome of the topographical arguments adduced by Mr. Bryant in his laſt publication, were founded on a miſtaken notion of the country; to which I might have contributed, by the confuſion and obſcurity he ſometimes complains of in my narrative. I wrote at firſt, as I profeſſed, ſolely with the intention of adding to Mr. Chevalier, the teſtimony he deſerves from every traveller in the Troad; but in order to make that teſtimony of any avail, it was neceſſary to anſwer the arguments brought forward by Mr. Bryant; ſince if they were unanſwerable, Troy, which never exiſted at all, could not exiſt where he places it. "In the anſwer I have made, there is," I am told, "too much Aſperity, and unmerited cenſure;" of this I am not a fair judge, the reader muſt decide between us; but I may be allowed to add, that if there is, it was unintentional, and certainly did not flow from the malignity to which Mr. Bryant aſcribes it. But I have accuſed him (he ſays*) both with want of probity and want of erudition. One charge I certainly made, and that becauſe I thought it grounded: from the great ſtreſs he lays upon ſome writers of later ages, whilſt he almoſt ſets aſide the authority of Thucydides and Herodotus; and from the very ſtrong deductions, which he makes from what I thought weak grounds, I conceived, that he was warped by a love of ſyſtem; and I believe I was not ſingular in that opinion. I never ſuppoſed Mr. Bryant guilty of "wilful perverſion of the truth" from any motive; but I knew that a preconceived ſyſtem often makes men ſee every argument through a diſtorted medium, and induces

NOTE.

* Expoſtulation, p. 3.

them

them to imagine a thouſand proofs and alluſions in paſſages, which either do not apply to the ſubject, or make directly againſt their ſuppoſitions. This then was not accuſing him of *want of probity*, but only of *prejudice*; and I ſupported the accuſation by referring to ſeveral paſſages, which I thought theſe cauſes had induced him to miſrepreſent. I added that, "the reader muſt judge whether his ſtatements were perfectly fair," and intimated that "ſome of the quotations were unwarranted; ſome of the tranſlations materially differing from the originals; and ſome of the paſſages erroneouſly tranſcribed from the originals themſelves;" all which I attributed to the ſame motive, namely, *love of Syſtem*; a ſource, from which ſimilar evils have very frequently flowed. It is ſaid alſo, that* I accuſe Mr. Bryant of "*abſurdity, futility, and ignorance?*" from this charge I appeal to my own book; I never do. In one place† I notice an "abſurdity ariſing from Mr. Bryant's ſuppoſition," and I ſhew that it follows from adopting ſuch ſuppoſition implicitly: but this mode of arguing *ex abſurdo* is extremely common, and I never heard before that it implied any *perſonal* abſurdity in the adverſary; otherwiſe Euclid is very abuſive. Of Mr. Bryant's *futility*, I ſay no more than of his *abſurdity*; I accuſe ſome of his arguments as *futile*, that is *as not being to the purpoſe*; ſurely this *futility* does not attach upon Mr. Bryant, but only upon the particular arguments alluded to. But,‡ Mr. Bryant ſays, that "I have given my opinion of his Erudition, by ſaying Mr. Bryant's knowledge of the ſubject with which he is engaged is merely on a par with that of the moſt ignorant," for which he refers to his anſwer to the Vindication, p. 72. But ſee the Vindication itſelf where theſe words occur. (p. 31.) "What Mr.

NOTES.

* Expoſtulation, p. 3.—† Vindication, p. 41.—‡ Expoſtulation, p. 3.

Bryant ſays of his [Homer's] Life, farther than conjecture is of no weight; notwithſtanding his *well known erudition*, his *authority* (not *his knowledge*) on *this ſubject* (viz. Homer's Life and Country) is on a level with that of the moſt ignorant." If this paſſage is *not perverted* by Mr. Bryant's repreſentation of it, I have paſſed a very wanton and odious cenſure on his ignorance; but if it is perverted, as I truſt is evident from this parallel, of what is he guilty? of an additional *miſrepreſentation* of a cited paſſage, to which I leave the reader to aſſign a motive. My aſſertion is true, that no man, whatever be his erudition, has been at any time able to aſcertain the country and parentage of Homer. Reading, however extenſive, is of no avail, where there are no documents extant but ſuch as are doubtful and contradictory. Now in the Expoſtulation (p. 67.) Mr. Bryant himſelf accuſes the Britiſh Critic of aſcribing to him too determined an opinion concerning Homer and his hiſtory. For ſays he, " The Britiſh Critic is very wrong to deſcribe Mr. Bryant as *ſo determined* in his opinion concerning Homer and his hiſtory. Mr. Bryant propoſes it with ſome degree of uncertainty and lays it with proper caution before the reader. In page 53 (of his firſt work) his words are if I might hazard *a conjecture* about Homer in Egypt. In another place, p. 60. he ſays, *I am induced to believe—From the evidence given, we may I think conclude, &c. &c.*" A little above* he ſays that he cannot have entertained a decided opinion about Homer, ſince he mentioned three, and does not know on which to determine. In what then does he contradict my aſſertion? All he ſays of Homer is conjecture; and his opinion ſo undetermined for want of data that ignorance is equally ſatisfactory. Had I ſaid Mr. Bryant was *ignorant of* " *the ſubject with which he*

NOTE.

* Expoſtulation, p. 67.

was

was engaged," viz. the writings of Homer and the war of Troy, I ſhould have been very *deſervedly* cenſured for *petulance and groſs ill manners*. But I only doubt his authority where he doubts it himſelf; and I afterwards pay due deference to the *ingenuity* of ſome of his conjectures about Homer;* but contend (as I always muſt) that no inference can reaſonably be drawn from the ſtories concerning him, which at all affects the nature of the queſtion to be diſcuſſed; viz. the exiſtence of Troy, and the hiſtorical truth of the war. If I have treated Mr. Bryant's arguments with unbecoming levity, it certainly proceeded not from any contempt of his perſon, or his talents; but levity is ſometimes the fault of youth, and I ſubmit to the animadverſions he has thought proper to beſtow upon my time of life.

I own that with regard to the general queſtion of the probability or improbability of Homer's Story, I cannot perceive in either of Mr. Bryant's late publications that he has brought any *new* arguments forward, which materially affect it in either way. He has rather try'd to ſet aſide ſome of the anſwers I had made to his original work, in which I do not think he has entirely ſucceeded. In the courſe of this I ſhall notice ſome inſtances. He thinks at all events, that the geography of the plain of Ilium, as given by Mr. Chevalier, Dallaway, and myſelf, is ſtill entirely incompatible with the Iliad; and renews objections, which appear to me to ariſe from a miſconception of the real geography of the Coaſt. The points he chiefly inſiſts on are, the courſe we have aſſigned to the Scamander, and the ſituations of Gargarus, and Troy itſelf. As Mr. Bryant has again repeated theſe objections in his Expoſtulation, addreſſed to the Britiſh Critic, if there is any obſcurity in the deſcription I have

NOTE.

* Vindication, p. 76.

publiſhed,

publiſhed, it is in ſome meaſure incumbent upon me to clear it up, that the points on which we are at iſſue may be fairly ſtated.

The Scamander, as laid down in Mr. Chevalier's Map, and in thoſe of Mr. Dallaway and myſelf, riſes in the plain immediately below Troy, and ſkirting the weſt ſide of the plain for ſome miles, turns ſuddenly, and pours its waters through a ſtrait artificial canal into the Ægean on the ſouth ſide of the Sigæan promontory. An ancient courſe is ſtill traceable from the commencement of this artificial canal, which appears to have been the original natural bed of the river. This being traced out, terminates in a larger ſtream which deſcends from the mountains, runs on the eaſtern ſide of the plain; and, after the conflux, pours itſelf into the Helleſpont on the eaſtern ſide of the Sigæan promontory. To this ſecond river ſo characteriſed we have aſſigned the name of Simois. Below the confluence and at the mouth of the river, the united ſtreams were called *Scamander*. It was further ſtated, that the ſtream we called Scamander was a clear copious brook, and that its waters were nearly the ſame in every ſeaſon of the year as far as the confluence; that the other ſtream, on the contrary, was a very violent mountain river, fed by the melting of the ſnows, and the rains that fell on Ida, and therefore was frequently very ſmall, and even dry in Summer, very turbulent, and conſiderably large in Winter. Below the confluence, the united ſtream (Scamander) was of courſe proportionally variable. And this deſcription is aſſerted to be conſonant to the intimations of Homer.

NOTE.

* See Chevalier on the plain of Troy, Dallaway on Conſtantinople. Vindication, p. 78-9, alſo p. 86 and *ſeq.*

Mr. Bryant makes several objections to this whole ſyſtem. For he ſays, firſt * that the Scamander of Homer was a larger river than the Simois, "because the waters of both took the name of Scamander below the junction, and never of Simois, that river together with its name was abſorbed in the Scamander; the ſmaller in the greater, of which there are as many inſtances as there are rivers." Not quite ſo many, ſince not to travel very far, the Ouſe, a very inconſiderable ſtream, gives its name to the united waters of the Swale and Ure, each of which is above a hundred times its bulk. The Scamander is in Summer generally larger than the Simois, (which in great droughts entirely diſappears) and therefore more likely to retain its name; and this circumſtance had been mentioned both by Chevalier and myſelf, as a probable cauſe of this ſingularity. And a little below †Mr. Bryant ſays, Mr. M. was miſtaken in ſome degree, becauſe "The Scamander did not firſt receive its name after the junction but far above." It certainly did receive the name far above; ſo far above, as at the two ſources near the Scæan gate; where Homer mentions the "δοιαι πηγαι Σκαμανδρου δινηεντος." Nor does Mr. M. any where intimate a word to the contrary; he apprehends there is a miſtake, as he cannot find the paſſage Mr. Bryant can here allude to.

In the next place ‡ Mr. Bryant aſſerts, that the Scamander was the principal river, becauſe of the epithets applied to it by Homer. I have ſhewn that ſome of theſe epithets are not incompatible with a ſmall ſtream, as ευρροος, καλιρροος, &c. I have alſo ſhewn that in winter the *united ſtreams*, were often very conſiderable, and that the Scamander *in that part* was πολαμος μεγας, δινηεις, βαθυδινης, &c.

NOTES.

* Obſervations p. 61. † Obſervations p. 61.

‡ Obſervations p. 62. and Expoſtulation p. 102.

and

and amply juſtified all theſe epithets. Now a very exact idea of its ſize *above the confluence* may be gathered from many paſſages in Homer, which are diametrically oppoſite to Mr. Bryant's ſuppoſition, and are ſo particular, that they are worth a hundred epithets. A ſingle tree torn down by Achilles formed a bridge acroſs it, which is thus deſcribed: *

Ὁ δὲ πτελέην ἅλε χερσὶ·
Εὐφύεα, μεγάλην, ἡ δ' ἐκ ῥίζῶν ἐριποῦσα
Κρημνὸν ἅπαντα διῶσεν ἐπέσχε δὲ καλὰ ῥέεθρα.

It alſo appears from ſeveral paſſages, that it was fordable† near the Camp, therefore not very far from the Sea, a circumſtance totally inconſiſtent with the character Mr. Bryant wiſhes to aſſign to the river. Of theſe intimations he takes little or no notice, but they are to be reconciled to the epithets given us by ‡Homer, and in order to do it, I ſuppoſed that the μεγας ποταμος βαθυδινης and the other ſounding epithets of Homer, were alluſive of the ſize and raging of the ſtream *in winter, below the confluence;* and that the facts, which prove the Scamander to have been leſs conſiderable, either happened *in Summer*, when the water from the Simois failed, or took place *above the confluence.* Should this ſolution not be deemed ſatisfactory, perhaps ſome other may be given, but none is admiſſible, which ſuppoſes the Scamander to be larger than Monſ. Chevalier deſcribes it, ſince it will be inconſiſtent with

NOTES.

* Homer, Il. φ. v. 242.—† Homer, Il. φ. v. 1, and paſſim.

‡ Indeed in Il. φ. v. 1. and *ſeq.* in the very place where he mentions the *ford* of the *Xanthus*, he calls the river δινης, and almoſt immediately after βαθυρρους περιρρεοντας; yet it is a fordable ſtream. So we ſee that according to Homer even a ford may be called δινης, &c. but Mr. Bryant ſays afterwards, "this Xanthus is only an arm of the Scamander, which laſt river was *never forded*;" being δινης, βαθυρρους, &c. See Expoſtulation, p. 109.

Homer's deſcription where he is moſt preciſe; and ſuch a charge of inconſiſtency ought to be founded on ſurer grounds than a poetical epithet. Let us alſo conſider the nature and comparative ſize of the other river, the Simois. * I had quoted a paſſage from Pope's verſion of Homer, (referring to the greek in the notes,) in which the *Xanthus* (as I ſaid,) implores the aid of his ally, the Simois:

> Haſte my brother flood,
> And check this mortal, who controuls a God:
> Call then your ſubject ſtreams, and bid them roar;
> From all your fountains ſwell your watry ſtore,
> With broken rocks, and with a load of dead,
> Charge the black ſurge, and pour it on his head.

This is perhaps rather a looſe verſion, but the ſenſe is nearly the ſame, and in the very next page I had given a part of the original, moſt material to my purpoſe. I quoted alſo two lines of Pope from the twelfth book, which either I or the printer made the ſeventh: †

> And gulphy Simois rolling to the main,
> Helmets and ſhields and godlike heroes ſlain.

In theſe two deſcriptions, I ſaid, the Simois was characteriſed as a violent unequal mountain torrent, rolling down in his "black ſurge,"

NOTES.

* Vindication, p. 88.

† Hom. M. 22. Και ΣΙΜΟΕΙΣ οθι πολλα βοεγμα και τριφαλεια
Κατπιτον ει κονιτιν και ηρωθεων γενος ανδρων.

Mr. Bryant ſuppoſed Pope's two lines to be a verſion of mine, and concluded that I had miſtaken the Scamander for the Simois, as the Scamander is mentioned in the 7th Book. I neither wrote the lines, nor was I guilty of the blunder.

ſtones, trees and dead bodies. But in the original, Mr. Bryant ſays, * " we find not the *leaſt intimation* of a mountain torrent, nor of broken rocks, nor load of dead, nor of this black ſurge." The original is

† Ιϛη δη μεγα κυμα πολυν δ'ορυμαγδον ορινε
Φιτρων και λαων.

" Lift up your mighty wave, and raiſe a great uproar of trunks of trees and Rocks," I certainly quoted Pope as moſt familiar to many readers, but I ſhould be glad to know whether the μεγα κυμα, πολυς ορυμαγδος φιτρων και λαων, is not juſt as conclusive, with reſpect to the ſize and nature of Simois, as any thing I have ſaid. ‡I believe Pope made a blunder in tranſlating λαων a load of dead, as ſuppoſing it the genitive plural of λαος; but, when I mentioned the *dead bodies*, I alluded to the ημιθεον γενος ανδρων in the 12th book. What further proves, it is ſaid, that I was entirely miſled by Mr. Pope, is my calling the Scamander the Xanthus. It is very true, and ſo does Homer repeatedly, who tells us they were ſynonimous,

μεγας πολαμος βαθυδινης
Ον ΞΑΝΘΟΝ καλεουσι θεοι ανδρες ΣΚΑΜΑΝΔΡΟΝ. Υ. 74.

But, what ſhews that I conſulted at leaſt ſome other tranſlation beſides Pope's, is, that I tranſlated φιλρων, trunks of trees, which are not mentioned in *his* verſion. Nor did I, in the ſecond quotation, miſtake the Simois for the Scamander, ſince the Simois is named in the original. Now this river, is very ſeldom mentioned in the Iliad, but the Scamander very frequently; becauſe the Scamander lay directly between the Grecian Camp, and the field of

NOTES.

* Obſervations, p. 63.—† Hom. φ. v. 308. &c.

‡ Λαος certainly never means *dead* people.

batle,

battle, and becauſe, below the junction, and near the Camp it was ſtill called Scamander. Its fountains alſo are mentioned near Troy; the Simois was more remote from the Scene of action, and as the river is never croſſed by either party, it is poſſible, that theſe reaſons might have induced Homer to mention it leſs frequently than the other, without any reference to their comparative ſize. I have throughout uſed the terms Xanthus and Scamander indifferently, but in the expoſtulation to the Britiſh Critic Mr. Bryant gives us a *map of the Grecian Station, and a deſcription of it according to the Poet, which agrees ſo exactly with my conceptions, excepting in the diſtance he aſſigns to Troy, and the difference he makes between the Xanthus and Scamander, that I muſt avail myſelf of his conceſſions, ſince I think they completely prove the truth of my own narration. †The ſituation of the Camp and the Ships was bounded to the left by the River Scamander. At one end of the camp were the tents of Achilles, and the Myrmidons; to the right. At the other end, thoſe of Ajax and his people, and, in the centre, were the tent and ſhip of Ulyſſes. Farther, in p. 106, the Scamander, we find, is repreſented by Strabo, as reſembling the Greek letter Υ, for it had two ſtreams above, the Simois and Xanthus, which, at laſt, united, and fell into (or rather formed) the main river below. Of theſe, the Simois was to the left; the other, the Xanthus, to the right. As the Grecian Camp lay upon the ‡right bank of the Scamander (for the left of the Camp was bounded by the river), the Xanthus was at ſome diſtance higher up, and oppoſite to it, and it's fords lay in the way to Troy, and from it—Here was the chief ſcene of battle. Μεσσηγυς Σιμοιντος

NOTES.

* P. 104.—† Expoſtulation, p. 102. *et ſeq.*

‡ By the *right* bank Mr. Bryant evidently means the bank to the right of a perſon looking up the river. This is uſually called the left bank of the river, but the conteſt fully explains the expreſſion; and I would not wiſh to cavil about words.

ἰδὲ Ξανθοιο ροαων. In page 109, Mr. Bryant ſays, the Scamander was never forded by the Greeks, it was only the *Xanthus*, an arm of the chief ſtream. Mr. Bryant then calls neither of the rivers *Scamander*, above the confluence; *an error of which he had already accuſed me, and of which I had never been guilty. Now Homer poſitively ſays, the Xanthus and Scamander were the ſame; and it may be proved, ſince many battles were fought between the *Xanthus* and the Simois; and the conflux is deſcribed to be that of the Simois and *Scamander*. Juno and Minerva deſcend Ηχι ροας Σιμοεις συμβαλλετον ηδὲ ΣΚΑΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ. Therefore the Simois, or the river on the left, was not the Scamander; and if ſo, the Xanthus was, ſince the name was retained above the confluence. This confluence took place, according to Mr. Bryant, *immediately* under the city, becauſe it is ſaid that the two Goddeſſes Τροιην ιξον, but Τροιη is ſometimes uſed, not merely for the city, but the diſtrict, for in the 9th Book Achilles ſays,

Δωδεκα συν νηυσι πολεις 'αλαπαξ 'ανθρωπων
Πεζος δ'ενδεκα φημι κατα Τροιην εριβωλον.——Il. I. 328.

This paſſage Mr. Bryant himſelf refers to in the Obſervations, page 70. *Beſides*, if, in fact, the city ſtood *at the* confluence, how could two armies fight between the rivers in *front* of the city? Since then the Scamander and Xanthus were the ſame, and the city higher up than Mr. Bryant places it, in every other point his deſcription correſponds to the map I have given exactly; for what I have marked as the old bed of the Scamander, was his Xanthus, before the courſe was turned, and it lay directly between Troy and the Grecian camp; Achilles's ſtation I have ſuppoſed at the Sigæan, and, therefore, on the right; the left I have bounded by the river, for which I have now Mr. Bryant's own authority. Mr. Bryant

NOTE.

* See Obſervations, p. 61.

adds,

adds, *" From this evidence we learn, that the Grecian camp and the river Xanthus, and particularly it's fords, alſo the city Troy itſelf, were, in reſpect to each other, nearly in a direct line from the ſea upwards." In every part of this inference, I have the greateſt ſatisfaction in having my map ſo very ably ſupported.

The ſituation of the two rivers in the plain of Bounarbachi, agrees then ſufficiently with Homer's deſcription; but Mr. Bryant ſays, that the ſituation of the plain itſelf is incompatible with it; becauſe the City of Troy ſtood in this Plain, and †there are good reaſons to believe it was near to Troas and Mount Lectum, and in view of the iſland Tenedos to the South. Now, that the plain of Troy was bounded by the Helleſpont is evident, from many paſſages in the Iliad; and the Helleſpont is far to the North of Troas, and Lectum. If then ‡the Helleſpont of Homer was the ſame as that of every other Greek writer, (and that it was not, has never been proved, though Mr. Bryant has attempted it,) there remains for us to conſider, whether ſuch a ſituation upon theſe celebrated ſtraits, is really conſiſtent with the other paſſages of the Iliad, which mention Lectum and Gargarus. §Lectum is the promontory, which forms the northern point of the Sinus Adramytenus; the deep bay in which Antandros and Adramyttium were ſituated. ‖Gargarus is the ſummit of the ſame ridge, of which Lectum is the extremity; and that ridge bounds the whole ſide of the bay in a line from Weſt to Eaſt, turning Northward at the Eaſtern

NOTES.

* Expoſtulation, p. 107.—† Obſervations, p. 64, *et paſſim.*

‡ See Vindication, p. 80, where the epithets and ſituation of Homer's Helleſpont are taken into conſideration. See alſo Bryant on the War of Troy, p. 157.

§ See Strabo, l. 13. p. 583.—‖ Id. ibid.

end of the Bay. *Gargarus was alſo the higheſt ſummit of Ida, and † at no great diſtance from Antandros. Farther on in the ſame ridge was another ſummit called ‡ Cotylus, and the northern point where the mountains approached the Helleſpont was called Dardanus. This whole chain of mountains went by the general name of Ida, which however appears ſometimes to be appropriated to § Gargarus as the higheſt ſummit of the chain. That Lectum and Gargarus are *not* the ſame, is evident; ſince Lectum is by no means the higheſt point of Ida, but is only a rocky promontory, which terminates that mountain. From Lectum the mountains gradually riſe on the Eaſt, and this riſe terminates in a high point about half way between Lectum and the bottom of the gulph, at about twenty-five miles diſtance from each. This point is ſtill the Summit of this branch of Ida, and is therefore ſufficiently apparent, and there is no higher ſummit nearer Lectum, therefore it is impoſſible to make Gargarus, and Lectum, nearer than twenty-five miles, ſince the laſting features of nature will not bend to our Syſtems. The South ſide of Ida falls from Gargarus very rapidly down to the gulph of Adramyttium. I landed in this part near a village called Nara, and croſſed over the mountain to Alexandria; this ſummit of Ida was on our right hand; it was pointed out by the inhabitants; and indeed it is as well known as the ſummit of any mountain in Switzerland or Wales. If Gargarus then was the higheſt point of this ridge, it was here. Now this point is a conſiderable diſtance from the plain of Bounarbachi; but it is in ſight of the plain, and I have given in one of the Plates ‖

NOTES.

* Servius, Notes on Virgil, Æn. 9, 86. Now it is poſſible that the ſummit of a mountain ſhould be twenty-five or thirty miles from its extremity, and it frequently happens.

† Heſychius, as quoted by Mr. Bryant, Obſervations, p. 65.

‡ Homer's Il. paſſim. So Herodotus: Τῳ Ἰδὴν λαβων ες ακρησιν χειρα. L. 70. 42.

§ See Vindication, p. 116.—‖ Annexed to the Vindication, p. 84.

a view

a view of it * from the Sigæan promontory, in the out-line of which it is a conſiderable feature. When Jupiter therefore views the plain and the ſhips of the Grecians from this ſummit, there is *nothing ſtrange* in Homer's deſcription, becauſe they were all in ſight; and here † Mr. Bryant remarks, that *I* "*believe in Jupiter*, and his ſuperior faculty of ſight," becauſe I attribute to him optics which are evidently ſuperior to thoſe of men. My Paganiſm, however, *fully* proved, has, I conceive, nothing to do with the queſtion; Homer gives the all-ſeeing Jupiter an exalted ſtation on the ſummit of Ida; the image is grand, conſiſtent and poetical. The point from which Jupiter takes his view of the plain does in fact command it, and therefore I can find no reaſon why we ſhould conclude from the ſituation of Gargarus, ‡that the plain was farther to the South, and that Troy ſtood near Alexandria Troas. Homer does not inſinuate any thing about the diſtance of Gargarus, when he tells us the plain was ſeen from it by Jupiter. I certainly conceive the Eye of Homer's Jupiter to have been very ſtrong and piercing, and cannot argue from the Eyes of Men in this caſe, whatever idea Mr. Bryant may form of my belief in the Grecian Mythology. §Cer-

NOTES.

* Vindication, p. 84.

Jupiter viewed the city ἐς νῆας Ἀχαιων, which Mr. Bryant ſays were, according to my poſition, a great way beyond Ilium, and therefore (becauſe I argue from Strabo that Ilium was in ſight of Gargarus,) that I am guilty of *a diſingenuous evaſion*, in directing Jupiter's view to *a nearer object*. There is no evaſion in the drawing, which is taken *very near the Shore*, nor is Ilium much nearer; for the town I mean is new Ilium, mentioned by Strabo, l. 13, p. 605, which was only a mile, or a mile and a half from the Port of the Greeks, and the mouth of the Scamander. See Obſervations, p. 70.

† Obſervations, p. 69.

‡ Mr. Bryant tells us in another place, that Ilion, according to Homer, was τηλοθι, a conſiderable diſtance from Ida;—does not this ruin his own argument? Obſervations, p. 54.

§ Hom. Il. N. 20. Neptune ſtrode at four ſtrides from Salamis to Agæ; Mr. Bryant therefore muſt either ſuppoſe that mortal men walked about much quicker in theſe days than they do now, or he muſt allow ſuperior power to Homer's Neptune; and implicate himſelf in this ſame dreadful Sin of Polytheiſm.

tainly,

tainly, Neptune's four ſtrides are more diſproportionate to human power than Jupiter's Eyeſight. The plain of Bounarbachi is, therefore, in a ſituation ſufficiently agreeable to Homer's deſcription of the plain of Troy; and Strabo, * with all the beſt Geographers, ſuppoſed them to be the ſame. What puts it beyond a doubt that it was not farther South is, that there is no plain nearer Gargarus, and no rivers of any ſize. †Mr. Bryant certainly miſtook the nature of the ſtreams near Alexandria, if either from Pocock's deſcription, or any other, he could for a moment imagine them to be deſcribed by Homer, either as the Simois or Xanthus. They are mere ſprings that riſe above and ſupply ſome baths, and are not large enough (as Belon owns,) for a gooſe to ſwim in even in Winter. I have inſerted *this* ‡ "*river*" as Mr. Bryant calls it, *in my Map*; but I thought the ſize could not be miſtaken, as I have deſcribed it in the §Vindication, and as Chevalier gives a full account of it. ‖ "*There it ſtands then in my Map,—indelible,*" and in my book ſtands the deſcription of it, and both are equally "*obvious to any perſon who will look after them: There alſo it ſtands in Chevalier*, and in *his book* too; yet becauſe we mark a *water courſe* near Alexandria, and in our writings deny the exiſtence of a river there, Mr. Bryant aſks, "How we can be expected to underſtand Homer, ſince we do not underſtand our own meaning?"

The whole of the argument, as far as it relates to Homer's deſcription of the ſituation of the plain, ſeems to me to amount to this. If, according to Homer, the ſcene of the Iliad muſt neceſſarily be transferred to the vicinity of Lectum, and Gargarus, the whole of this deſcription is (as Mr. B. juſtly obſerves in this ſuppoſition,)

NOTES.

* Strabo, l. 13, p. 595, κ.τ.λ.—† Expoſtulation, p. 98.—‡ Expoſtulation, p. 99.

§ Vindication, p. 82, and Chevalier, p. 7.—‖ See the Expoſtulation, p. 100.

purely

purely *ideal*; ſince the country is in every reſpect totally different from the region deſcribed. The only proof of its vicinity to Gargarus, which Mr. Bryant has adduced from Homer's writings, is, that he places Jupiter upon that ſummit to view the plain. Admitting the fact, I deny the concluſion; and as a proof on the other ſide, I obſerve, that Homer certainly places the plain on the ſhore of the *Helleſpont*. Since in this ſituation we find a plain and two rivers in every reſpect agreeing with Homer's account, the ſcene of the Iliad was not ideal; and one argument againſt the hiſtorical truth of the Poem is thereby taken away.

The plain of Bounarbachi, and the ancient courſes of the two rivers, which are found there, correſpond with the plain of ancient Troy, and the deſcription afforded by the Iliad of the Simois and Xanthus, or Scamander. Here alſo we find the * *Thymbrius* mentioned by Homer, and ſeveral tombs, which agree in a very extraordinary manner, (conſidering the number of ages which have intervened,) with all that Homer has ſaid of the tombs of the Grecian and Trojan heroes. Surely theſe additional corroborating circumſtances cannot be entirely paſſed over; and they outweigh any inference, that can be drawn from the Eyeſight which Homer allots to Jupiter. It remained then to fix the ſituation of Troy, and in this I have followed Mr. Chevalier; not "blindly," nor "implicitly;" but becauſe I thought him right in the ſituation he aſſigned to the city; at the ſame time that I thought he carried the walls on the South and Eaſt ſide too far back. I had ſaid, that Bounarbachi † was ſet above a ſhort aſcent upon *a plain*; the plain in which the rivers run is below it, on the North and on the Weſt, and the difference of

NOTES.

* Now the Thimbreck. See Chevalier, and the Vindication.

† See Vindication, p. 93, *et ſeq.*

level between theſe two plains is not conſiderable. The flat ground behind Bounarbachi is delineated in the view taken from the tomb of Hector, as well as the larger plain below; and the ſlope between theſe two plains is alſo delineated in the view taken from the cold ſpring of the Scamander, as well as the much higher hill in the right hand of the picture, on the top of which the tombs of Hector and the other Trojan warriors are ſuppoſed to be ſituated. This high hill bounds the upper plain on the South and South-Eaſt, and behind it runs the Simois in a deep dell, with high rocky precipices, which ceaſe juſt to the Eaſt of Bounarbachi, and terminate in the ſlight acclivity above which the village ſtands, with a level plain behind it, extending to the foot of the hills that riſe on the South. I do not place Troy "*high up beyond*" * Bounarbachi, but I believe it to have occupied what is now the ſituation of that village, and to have extended behind, and on each ſide of it, over great part of the flat table land between the lower plain, and the hills on the South. Part of the City might alſo have extended along the bank of the Simois on the North, and North-Eaſt, into the lower plain: Troy, however, is here ἐνπεδίῳ, on a plain, which in fact does not terminate but at the high range of hills, on which, I conceive, the Acropolis to have ſtood. Homer ſaid the city was πολὺ, "a great way" from Mount Ida, I agree with him. † Mount Ida, properly ſo called, riſes far behind the hills of Bounarbachi, which I have ſhewn in what I ſaid about Gargarus. But if Jupiter ſate on

NOTES.

* Some Obſervations, &c. p. 53. The word Bounarbachi ſignifies the "head of a Stream;" and, therefore, the reader will not imagine the village to be on the top of a hill above a mile from the ſources which it takes its name from.

† Mr. Bryant himſelf allows that Homer's Ida is properly the ſame as *Gargarus*; but in fact in the place quoted, the words are πολὺς ὕλης.

Ἄξομεν ἔρσας. Ω. 662.

"We bring wood from the mountain from a conſiderable diſtance." The woody parts of the mountain might be at ſome diſtance without any juſt inference as to the diſtance of the mountain itſelf.

Ida, and Troy, according to Homer, was τηλοθι *a great way* from it, what becomes of the whole argument founded on the immediate vicinity of Gargarus and Lectum? I had tried in the *Vindication to ſtrengthen my argument by a ſuppoſition, that the wall ran along the ſlope below Bounarbachi, and then above the ſprings cut acroſs the flat platform, on which it is ſituated to the foot of the higher hills. I had obſerved, that in this caſe, if the Scæan Gate ſtood above the ſprings, the wall to the South of the Gate would croſs over a level plain from the top of one ſlope to the bottom of a much higher, that here was propably the ερυμος. Ενθα μαλιστα αμβατος εϛι πολις ϗ επιδρομον επλετο τειχος. Επιδρομος, is rendered by ſome lexicographers *acceſſu facilis, planus*;† which I accounted for by ſhewing, that according to my plan, the wall which every where elſe was upon an acclivity, here would be upon a level plain. The whole of this paſſage was, therefore, miſunderſtood by Mr. Bryant, or he would not have cenſured me ſo ſeverely as he has done in his Obſervations, page 53, and 54; but it is very difficult ſometimes to deſcribe ſituations by words, and the obſcurity and confuſion of my deſcription, no doubt, miſled him. I certainly intended no *evaſion* or *duplicity* here, and I hope I have explained my meaning to his ſatisfaction.

I have already noticed many other particulars, in which this aſſigned ſituation agrees with Homer, ſo I will not recapitulate them here. It is only my buſineſs to take away the objections, that have ſince been made; particularly, where any miſconception may

NOTES.

* Page 96.

† Stephanus renders it *expoſitus τοις επιδρομαις, incurſionibus*. I tranſlated it *level*, or *eaſily acceſſible*; Mr. Bryant ſays that it means eaſily *over-run*, or *eaſily aſcended*. But επι means—"*cloſe upon*," as well as "*locally upon*," as I have ſhewn; (Vindication, p. 95.) and in compoſition, I apprehend, it may be rendered in that ſenſe. Επιδρομος may mean *eaſy to be approached*, as well as "*eaſy to be aſcended*;" and it is in fact ſo underſtood by Stephanus.

 have

have originated from my want of perſpicuity. In my Map *I am told, that the fountains of Scamander are a long mile from Bounarbachi, and Troy ſtill higher; however my book corrected the inaccuracy of my Map, for I repeatedly ſtate that the †Scæan Gate was *immediately* above theſe ſprings, and in the ‡view taken from the ſprings Bounarbachi is delineated as it really is, greatly within half that diſtance. If then it was nine miles and a half from the ſprings (and conſequently the Scæan Gate,) to the Sigean promontory, §I argued that it would not be more than ſeven or eight miles to the neareſt part of the camp; and, that a leſs diſtance than is here aſſigned would be ſcarcely ſufficient for the two armies to encamp and march, or for the different events to take place, which are recorded in Homer's poem. Aſſuming the hot ſpring as a mark of the ſituation of the Scæan gate, I have conjectured the ſituation of the city. Certainly no ruins remain; but as I have ſtated, the ground in ſome parts appears to have been built upon; and many other cities are equally deſtroyed without the ſame cauſes of deſtruction. It ſuffices then to have ſhewn that this ſituation, in other reſpects, agrees with Homer, and that no other ſituation in the plain does, ſince the Scæan gate muſt be near the ſprings. This has, I truſt, been done, and if ſo the ſcenery of the Iliad is founded on reality; and Homer, at leaſt, adapted his ſtory to the geography of Phrygia.

In the Vindication I had ventured an opinion that Strabo in perſon never viſited the Troad, and I founded that opinion, not on his contradicting my hypotheſis, but on his contradicting himſelf more than once, and on his frequent references to Demetrius of Scepſis.

NOTES.

* Obſervations, p. 53.—† See Vindication. Plate.—‡ Vindication, p. 97, *et paſſim.*

§ Vindication, p. 110.

Whether he was in the Troad or not however, he deſcribes a great part of it with the utmoſt accuracy. * Mr. Bryant ſays that "the author of the Vindication, (M. Morritt,) and his *friend*, (Mr. Chevalier,) act very politicly in depreciating Strabo, however high his authority; for if he is to be truſted, almoſt every article which they have maintained is wrong." I beg the reader's attention while I ſhew from Strabo, "if he is truſted," how many articles which we have maintained are right, and thoſe chiefly articles, for which he does not cite Demetrius; and which, if he was there, were apparently his own obſervations. †In tracing the coaſt of the Helleſpont, he comes to Dardanus; a city ſeventy ſtadia diſtant from Abydos, on a promontory of the ſame name. Between this city and Abydos he places the river Rhodius; and oppoſite to its mouth, in the Thracian Cherſoneſus, the Cynos-ſema, or tomb of Hecuba. Near Dardanus is Ophrynium, on which ſtood a grove conſecrated to Hector, and then he comes to the *lake Pteleos*. ‡I always thought the Geography of this part of the country ſufficiently aſcertained by D'Anville, and the §travellers who have viſited the Helleſpont, and as it was not the immediate object of my book, I gave the plan of the coaſt no higher than the point I ſuppoſe the Rhœteum. ‖Here, however, Mr. Bryant ſays I have, to all appearance, miſtaken the Rhodius for the Scamander; and adds, that the lake Pteleos is by Strabo placed juſt *where the neareſt land appears now near* Ophrynium, which ſeems to be the Cape Janiſary of the moderns, which they have conſidered as the ancient Sigeum. Between the Rhodius and Ophrynium ſtood ¶ Dardanus; a part of Ida with the city Dardanus upon it. Where is this mountain and city? certainly not

NOTES.

* Obſervations, p. 59.—† Strabo, 13; 595, κ. τ. λ.

‡ This then is the order given by Strabo, in which the places he mentions were ranged along the coaſt from Abydos ſouthward:—Abydos, Rhodius, Dardanus acra, Dardanus, Ophrynium.

§ Sandys, Pocock, Chandler, &c.—‖ Obſervations, p. 56, 57, &c.—¶ See Strabo *ad. loc.*

between

between Cape Janiſary and the river we deſcribe. This ſingle fact deſtroys the whole hypotheſis; but if any one will conſult D'Anville's plan, given by Bocage in the Voyage D'Anacharſis, and compare it with the modern Map of Greece by De La Rochette, who is however leſs exact than D'Anville, he will ſee that theſe places are placed higher up, and conſiſtently with Strabo's deſcription. Abydos is a ſituation ſtill known; the traces of its foundations are ſcattered over the ſide of a hill, and a maſſy fragment of its wall ſtands on the ſhore. The narrowneſs of the Helleſpont near this place marks its ſituation as well that of Seſtos. As I made the journey by land from the Troad to the Dardanelles, and afterwards went to Abydos, and returned by ſea to the Troad, I can aſſure the reader that the outline of the Helleſpont, as given by D'Anville, and La Rochette, is tolerably exact; near the modern town of the Dardanelles, where the Aſiatic fortreſs of the Turks is ſituated, *a large and rapid river runs into the ſea; it is about five miles from Abydos, and therefore as Dardanus is at about nine miles, or ſeventy ſtadia, it would be between the two. This then muſt be the Rhodius, for if Dardanus was beyond the other river we call the Scamander, it would be near twenty miles from Abydos. A little below this river, which runs in a plain, the mountain of Ida borders the Helleſpont, and we know Dardanus was the name of this extremity of Ida. †Ophrynium was "πλησιον, *near it*;" how then could it be at Cape Janiſary? in fact, Ophrynium was another promontory of Ida which here juts into the ſea. This part of the country correſponds completely with Strabo, and the Cynoſſema is directly oppoſite the mouth of the Rhodius, for at its foot is built the European Caſtle of the Dardanelles, directly oppoſite the Aſiatic,

NOTES.

* This is the river Leunclavius ſeems to have miſtaken for the Simois. See Notes on Chevalier, p. 102.

† Strabo, *loc. ſuprac.*

which

which ſtands on the Rhodius, (now the Dardanelle river). Near it are Madytos and Koilos, now Maita and Koilia, and beyond them the promontory of Seſtos. The Cynoſſema is a high promontory, and upon it there ſtill remains a tomb exactly ſimilar to the *tumuli* of the Troad, as I had already mentioned *in the Vindication. (See page 107.) Now theſe promontories and rivers agree with Strabo, and are totally inconſiſtent with every attempt to convert the rivers of the plain of Bounarbachi, and the Cape Janiſari into the Rhodius and Ophrynium; and when †Mr. Bryant conſiders that this larger river was Strabo's Scamander, (for, certainly, it waſhes Palæ Scepſis, and receives the Andrius of that author,) he muſt entirely abandon his opinion. ‡He declares, however, that the marſhes which exiſt to the eaſt of Koumkalé in the plain, were undoubtedly the Pteleos of Strabo. Let us ſee how Strabo continues his deſcription of the coaſt, having firſt premiſed that ſome very marſhy land exiſts nearer Dardanus. After Pteleos is Ροΐτειον πολις επι λοφουκειμενη, Rhœteum a city on a hill; (beyond the marſhes on the weſt there are no hills;) alſo at Rhœteum was a tomb on the ſhore, called Aianteum, with a fane and monument of Ajax. The remains of this tomb, and the foundations of this very fane, exiſt, and mark the Rhœtean promontory; and the tomb is proved to be the ſame Strabo mentioned, being ſituated near the ſhore, and broken open in the very manner deſcribed by Pauſanias, who alſo takes notice of it. Here is alſo λοφος, a riſing ground on which the city ſtood, and therefore Pteleos was not in the plain, but undoubtedly nearer to Dardanus. Theſe marſhes in the plain are mentioned

NOTES.

* Vindication, p. 107.—† Obſervations, p. 57.

‡ Strabo thus continues his deſcription: Pteleos—Rhœteum—Aianteum—Sigeum—Nauſtathmus Achivorum—[Λιμην.] Portus Achivorum—Caſtra. Achiv.—Stoma limne—Scamandri oſtia. Sigeias Acra, oppoſite the Cherſoneſus. Achæum, a promontory commanding the ſhore of Tenedos, and the plain of Troy lying inland above all theſe places towards Ida.

by

by Strabo, however, under a different name. " Beyond the Rhœteum, he ſays is Sigeum, a city now ruined, and the Naval ſtation and the port of the Greeks, and the Grecian camp, and a marſh called Stoma, and the mouths of the Scamander. For the Simois and Scamander joining in the plain, bringing down a quantity of mud in their courſe heap up the ſhore, and form τοφλον ϛομα τε ϗ λιμνοθαλαττας ϗ ελη." This blind mouth, and ſalt marſhes formed by the Scamander, are not then the lake Pteleos, nor were they ever confounded with it. Then Strabo mentions the Sigean promontory, and the tomb of Protéſilaus which ſtood oppoſite to it in the Thracian Cherſoneſus; but as Cape Janiſary is the laſt point oppoſite Thrace, if Ophrynium was here, Sigeum was more to the South, and not oppoſite the Cherſoneſus, nor near it. In ſhort, there is not one reaſon in Strabo for placing either Ophrynium or Pteleos in this part, and inexplicable confuſion would reſult from it. The objects mentioned above, Sigeum (the city,) the Naval ſtation, &c. all come in between Rhœteum, and the Sigean promontory ακρα Σιγειας, on which he places the tomb of Achilles, and near it thoſe of Patroclus and Antilochus. Hitherto then if Strabo is to be truſted, the articles Chevalier and I have maintained are not wrong. Perhaps alſo ſome others will be found equally conſonant to his evidence. In one point, however, we both of us differ from him. *For, ſays he, " the length of this ſhore from the Rhœteum to the Sigæan promontory, and tomb of Achilles, is ſixty ſtadia." †Pliny ſays thirty, and this number agreeing with the breadth of the plain, and being ſupported in our conjectures about the ſite of the Rhœteum by the exiſtence of the broken tumulus above mentioned, we ſuppoſed that Strabo's text might here be defective,

NOTES.

* Strabo, *ibid.*

† Pliny ſays the diſtance from the Aianteum was thirty ſtadia, which Strabo places at the Rhœtean Promontory. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l. 5. cap. 30.

ſince

ſince it depends on a Greek numeral; and we adopted the meaſurement of Pliny, as more conſonant to truth; *but we gave our reaſons for fixing the Rhœteum near the tomb of Ajax, and alſo for ſuppoſing the broken tumulus now ſeen on the ſhore to be that tomb, as deſcribed by Strabo himſelf and Pauſanias. I apprehend, that this correction of Strabo's meaſurement, by the exiſting topography of the country, ſupported by the authority of Pliny, is agreeable to the exacteſt rules of geographical criticiſm. Indeed the ἑξηκοντὰ ſtadia of Strabo are doubtful, ſince other manuſcripts have ſubſtituted ἑβδομηκοντὰ in ſome copies, and Euſtathius propoſes to read ἑπτὰ. A doubtful reading is beſt corrected by the real geography of the Plain, and the compariſon with another author; eſpecially in Strabo, where the text is in general acknowledged to have been much mutilated. "The whole of this coaſt then," ſays Strabo, "lies below Ilium; it being about twelve ſtadia from the preſent town of that name to the Port of the Grecians; from the ancient Ilium it is thirty ſtadia more, meaſured upwards towards the region of Ida." The exact ſituation of New Ilium has not yet been aſcertained I believe. I own I have little doubt that it was above the junction, for †in Pliny we find that New Ilium was a Roman mile and a half from the Port; that is certainly from *the ſhore*; and I believe this word *Portu* refers to the Portus Achivorum mentioned three lines before; as it agrees exactly with the twelve ſtadia of Strabo, both here, and in p. 598. ‡New Ilium was alſo twenty Stadia diſtant from the mouth of the Simois; and below the junction there does not appear to have been room for a conſiderable city, and alſo for theſe diſtances from the ſhore. No part of the ſhore is now much above twenty ſtadia from the junction, therefore I am inclined ſtrongly to believe the city ſtood above it. I

NOTES.

* Vind. p. 105—110. Chevalier, p. 107.—† Plin. Hiſt. Nat. L. 5. Chap. 30.

‡ Strabo. L 13. p. 598.

think alſo, but with great diffidence, that the word *εμπροσθεν means *in front of* New Ilium, and that this is the more claſſical ſenſe of the word, which more frequently, I believe, is uſed with reference to place than to time, and I conceive Strabo to view the country from the ſhore as he uſually does. This ſituation above the Confluence was firſt ſuggeſted by the learned author of the Britiſh Critick, who notices it p. 35, and is further ſtrengthened as he juſtly obſerves, by the exiſtence of the ancient Bridge, marked in Mr. Wood's map, † which is above the confluence. I could not find any certain traces of the city itſelf, ſuch as foundations, or walls undoubtedly ancient, either above or below the junction; many pieces of ancient ſculpture, and remains of ancient magnificence are now ſtuck without order in the walls of one or two poor villages in this part of the plain, above the junction; a certain proof of the vicinity of ſome ancient monuments. "Going forward a little beyond this ſhore Strabo ſays you come to Achæum, which commands the ſhore of Tenedos. The plain of Troy lies above theſe places on the ſhore, ſtretching eaſtward for many ſtadia as far as Ida. That part near the mountains is narrow, partly extending on the South ſide to the vicinity of Scepſis, (this certainly is the deſcription of the narrow dell in which the Simois runs.) ‡ partly on the North ſide to the Lycians of Zeleia. (This I conceive to be the valley of the Thymbrius.) This place the poet ſays was ſubject to Æneas and the ſons of Antenor, and he calls it Dardania." Now hitherto, except in the diſtance of Troy, I completely agree with Strabo. I think it cannot be ſaid, that if he is right

NOTES.

* Strabo ſays the confluence of the rivers was εμπροσθεν του ιλιου, L. 13. p. 597.

† Though Mr. Chevalier does not inſert this bridge in his map, he mentions it in his Book, p. 24. The bridge certainly does exiſt in that ſituation as he deſcribes it.

‡ See the map annexed to the Vindication, or that of Chevalier.

almoſt

almoſt every article I have maintained is wrong. With reſpect to the ſituation of the city, I differ from his authority however reſpectable, becauſe it appears not to agree with the deſcription left us by Homer. *The two ſources of the Scamander roſe near the road in front of the Scæan gate; Troy therefore was above theſe ſources in the plain. But theſe ſources are found much higher up than the village of the Ilians, which Strabo conjectured, perhaps from ſome vague tradition, to have been at or near the ſituation of ancient Ilium. It has alſo been ſhewn by M. Chevalier, that Strabo had aſſigned it a different ſituation in another paſſage, p. 892. For he had there ſaid, that "from the mountainous part of Ida two αγκωνες, or projecting ranges of hills, ſtretch to the ſea, one towards Rhœteum, the other towards the Sigeum, in a ſemicircular direction; but they terminate about the ſame diſtance from the Sea with New Ilium." By this *termination*, I fancy the point of their *greateſt projection* whence they retire to the Sea, is alluded to; ſince he had already ſaid they run to the ſea, which would not happen if they ceaſed at new Ilium. Indeed New Ilium is nearly in the narroweſt part of the plain, and this deſcription agrees entirely with the plain of Bounarbachi. But Strabo ſays, that New Ilium ſtood indeed at the *termination* of this range, but ancient Ilium ſtood at their *commencement*. Therefore according to him, it ſtood at the foot of the mountains of †Ida; and Bounarbachi is found there, but the village of the Ilians (if Strabo's thirty ſtadia are exactly meaſured) ſtood lower down in the vale, and lower than the ſprings;

NOTES.

* Hom. Il. X. 147. Mr. Bryant has explained this paſſage differently, but as Strabo evidently conſiders it as deſcriptive of the *ſources* of the Scamander, even while he owns the Scamander of Demetrius did not agree with Homer's deſcription; I muſt conſider him as the better Commentator of the two. Strabo, L. 13. p. 602.

† Ida is here uſed as the general name of the whole range. Homer ſometimes uſes it in a more confined ſenſe.

 which

which position would be inconsistent with Homer's description, and also with the situation assigned to Troy, by Strabo's own conjecture in the passage above quoted. Surely a greater attention is to be paid to this excellent geographer's positive description of the features of nature, than to any measurements he gives; since besides the frequent corruptions of Greek numerals which have happened from the carelessness of transcribers, we know that computed distances are often extremely vague and erroneous even now, and we know not that they are here assigned by actual measurement. Besides, if New Ilium was of any extent, suppose for example, two or three miles above the confluence, thirty stadia further might bring us not very far short of the situation assigned by us. In this uncertainty however it cannot be said, that if Strabo is to be trusted we are wrong, since we agree in every thing but in the length of these thirty stadia, and in that part we have shewn that he contradicts himself. "These two ranges of hills enclosed the vallies of Scamander and of Simois; and this enclosed part is properly called the plain of Troy, and was the scene of most of the Poet's Battles; he then *mentions the other monuments, and the conflux, and also the Stoma limne. See Strabo, p. 892. Chevalier, p. 63. He also mentions the Thymbrius, and this is still called Thimbreck, therefore cannot be mistaken; and then argues at some length that †New Ilium was not the seat of ancient Troy; as it clearly was not. He afterwards says, not a vestige remained of the ancient city, which he thinks very easily accounted for; (See Strabo p. 599. See Vindication, p. 72.) With regard to the passages for

NOTES.

* Strabo says ἐφαμεν, 597, *we see* there the places mentioned by Homer, the Erineos, the tombs of Æsyetes, Myrinne, and Ilus, which are still shewn.

† This debate, says Mr. Bryant, shews that neither New Ilium nor the Pagus Ilienſium had any pretensions to be considered as Troy. I think it appears that they had not, but yet some third spot might, for this uncertainty by no means proves the non-existence of any place.

which he cites Demetrius, and which induced me to think he had not viſited the Troad, much has been ſaid, they chiefly relate to the ſituation of places more inland, ſuch as Scepſis, Æne, &c. Demetrius certainly ſuppoſed the river we called Simois to be the Scamander, but Strabo owns it had only one fountain, and did not agree with Homer, He then ſuppoſes the warm Spring loſt; but even in that caſe it does not agree, ſince Troy ſtood near theſe ſprings; and he places the city many miles lower, where Ida terminates in the plain. Here then he is inconſiſtent with himſelf, and whenever that is the caſe, we muſt have recourſe to the exiſting topography, and to other authorities, in order to clear up difficulties and remove doubts, if we really wiſh to illuſtrate Strabo and Homer. If however we wiſh to invalidate their evidence, the more doubts and difficulties we can accumulate the better. I only doubt Strabo's authority where he doubts it himſelf, or where other authors contradict him, and are more conſonant to modern evidence.

I truſt then, that I have at leaſt ſhewn that Mr. Chevalier and I do not depreciate Strabo's account, from any *politick* motives aſſigned to us by Mr. Bryant. That the Scamander of that author was not, and could not be the Scamander of Homer, Mr. Bryant muſt acknowledge; ſince his own plan of the Simois and Xanthus contradicts it, and I have ſhewn that the Xanthus and Scamander of Homer were the ſame; the names had been changed after Homer's time, and hence originated all the confuſion. If indeed the courſe of the original Scamander had been turned previous to Strabo's time (which is not impoſſible) the confuſion may be accounted for, ſince the mouth being always called the *oſtia Scamandri*, the name would naturally be retained all the way up, tho' the real Scamander no longer joined it. *Pliny however poſitively mentions the preſent Mouth of the

NOTE.

* See Hiſt. Natur. L. 5. Cap. 30.

Scamander

Scamander South of Sigeum, and alſo the Palæ-Scamander, the ancient bed of the river, and the Simois on the North ſide. I truſt then that we are ſupported in our conjectures by the moſt reſpectable authors of antiquity; and certain it is, that Mr. Bryant's conjecture about Ophrynium, and the map he gives of Troy near Lectum, is poſitively contradicted by them all, in numberleſs places; and his ſituation of Ophrynium is, indeed, contradicted by himſelf. Allowing him therefore the authority of Virgil, *Eſt in conſpectu Tenedos*, (which is not in ſight from the plain, only on account of the height of the coaſt) and alſo of *Monſ. Belon, who owns he could not find the rivers at Alexandria Troas; I only oppoſe to them the authorities above mentioned, and upon that iſſue I reſt the cauſe.

NOTE.

* Mr. Bryant adds to Belon, Sandys, Lithgow, and Gemelli; Sandys however is entirely contrary to his ſuppoſition, for he landed at Cape Janiſary, which he calls alſo the Sigæan promontory, to view the plain of Bounarbachi; which he, with us, conſidered as the ſcene of "thoſe renowned bickerings," the combats of the Greeks, and Trojans. He alſo places the ancient City of Ilion in this plain. He poſitively points out the miſtake of Belon, with reſpect to the two rivers, which he obſerves in all likelihood had alſo taken place in the ſituation aſſigned by him to the city. "For the ruins (of Alexandria) deſcribed by him, ſtand too near the naval ſtation, to afford a field for the events of the Iliad." He mentions the marſhes in the plain, but, as he did not penetrate on land beyond Cape Janiſary, he could not give the courſe of the Scamander, and the ſituation of Bounarbachi with accuracy. He places the plain and rivers in his map, oppoſite the Cherſoneſe, and on the ſhore of the Helleſpont; and he no where confounds old Troy, which he places inland, with Alexandria Troas. What induced Mr. Bryant to aſſert that Sandys agreed with Belon, I cannot conceive. Lithgow certainly miſtook Alexandria for Troy, and talks of the *ruins* of Priam's palace, and gives drawings of the tombs of Priam and Hecuba from theſe remains. His account is very ſingular, and his miſtakes in ſome points evident; why then ſhould his authority be uncontrovertible? Gemelli Careri ſaw the ſame ruins and landed on the ſhore, he ſays the ancient Troy was here, but he could not go inland as the haſte of the Rais (or maſter of the ſhip who conducted him) prevented his longer ſtay. He never mentions the rivers or the plain. He afterwards calls the two caſtles of the Dardanelles, Seſtos, and Abydos; in which he is alſo entirely miſtaken. Neither of theſe two travellers ſeem to have paid much attention to this part of the coaſt; nor do they take any pains to aſcertain the accuracy, or the defects of ancient topography. The manner of Sandys forms a ſtriking contraſt with theirs, and his teſtimony is throughout favourable to Mr. Chevalier's hypotheſis; indeed he was ſo learned, and ſo indefatigable, that his authority would hardly be diſputed, and therefore it is of importance to ſhew that he agrees with us. Vide Sandys' Travels, p. 15. and *ſeq.* Lithgow, p. 122. Gemelli Careri, Vol. I. p. 233. French Edition.

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In the deſcription I have given of the plain of Bounarbachi, I fear I have alſo been acceſſory to ſome miſtakes Mr. Bryant ſeems to have made, which it is therefore incumbent upon me to rectify. I have juſt ſhewn that Strabo mentioned an *accretion of land* at the mouth of the two rivers. I had ſaid that Chevalier alſo mentioned it; but I had not referred to the paſſage. Mr. Bryant ſays that *"Not one word to the purpoſe is to be found in the author appealed to." However in Chevalier's deſcription, p. 17. he expreſsly mentions Koumkalé, the *caſtle of the Sands*, ſo called becauſe it is built "on the ſands which are accumulated at the mouth of the torrent." His learned Editor, Dalzel, has expreſſed his opinion on this ſubject very juſtly. †"It is not to be doubted," he ſays "that the prominence of Soil now obſervable at the mouth of the river, is an accumulation of ſand, gradually formed by the repeated torrents of the Simois upon the ſpot, which might have been a bay in the time of Homer, (Il. 7th, 462.) though the current of the rapid Helleſpont muſt render it impoſſible for any accretion to be formed thereof the magnitude which Mr. Wood has fancied." Mr. Wood ſuppoſes this increaſe at leaſt twelve or thirteen miles, and certainly there is no contradiction in refuſing our aſſent to that conjecture, and yet mentioning an accretion, which is allowed by Strabo, who ſays that the ſhore had increaſed ſix ſtadia from Homer's time. But I had further obſerved ‡that the nature of the ground was ſuch as to confirm this idea of Strabo, Chevalier, and Dalzel, and I referred for the proof of it to the "drawing of that part of the plain, where the *long low points* of flat marſhy ground *running forward* into the ſea, ſufficiently evince their origin." Mr. Bryant is ſomewhat ſevere upon theſe §"long low points," to which

NOTES.

* Obſervations, p. 53.—† Chevalier, pages 99, 100. See Note.

‡ See Vindication, p. 91, 109.—§ Some Obſervations, &c. p. 55, 56, 58.

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he ſays I refer in the drawing of the map of Mr. Chevalier; and argues that, "no low, faint, imperceptible dots, and points, ſhould be oppoſed to plain, intelligible writing." To this I have only two words to ſay; firſt, that Mr. Chevalier's writing does *not* contradict me; and ſecondly, that the *drawing* I refer to has nothing to do with any map, but was taken on the ſpot from the tomb of Ajax, and is engraved and given in my book after page 90. "*Ibi omnis effuſus labor.*" Theſe points of marſhy land do *run forward* into the Sea, and are evidently a depoſit of mud, brought down by the rivers. * Mr. Bryant accuſes me of artifice in this deſcription, and ſays "they may run backwards into the country." I can only anſwer, that in a queſtion of fact, having been on the ſpot, my authority is equal to Mr. Bryant's, however inferior in every other reſpect; that my drawing corroborates it, and the teſtimony of other Eyewitneſſes is alſo in my favour. Indeed I had mentioned this accretion in commenting on this very plate, † and had there pointed out the form and origin of theſe long promontories. ‡ "This ſwampy ſoil" he ſays, "may be in ſome degree traced in the map of Mr. Chevalier, but is far more accurately deſcribed in that of Mr. Wood." I am ſorry to differ from Mr. Bryant alſo in this aſſertion; Mr. Wood's map of the coaſt is by no means ſo *accurate* as Mr. Chevalier's, and how Mr. Bryant could in his Study eſtimate their comparative exactneſs, is to me entirely a ſecret. I am called on here § to anſwer a queſtion Mr. Bryant calls an *untoward* one; viz. how I came to apply to Mr. Chevalier for intelligence, and not to have been myſelf ſufficiently informed on the ſubject of this marſh? With all due deference I reply, that ſo far from applying to Mr. Chevalier, I refer to my own plate; and that

NOTES.

* Some Obſervations, p. 56.

† Vindication, &c. p. 91. — ‡ Some Obſervations, p. 57 — § Some Obſervations, p. 58.

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wherever I bring forward Chevalier's teſtimony, I make uſe of it to corroborate my own aſſertions. But this * *friend* of mine (whom, by the way, I never ſaw in my life,) † had conſtructed, it ſeems, a moſt inaccurate map, which I copied, without conſidering that Troy was near the junction of the two ſtreams, becauſe Juno and Minerva Τροιην ιξον, near the conflux. This fact as to Troy, is anſwered already above; but, ſince Mr. Bryant conſiders our *agreement* as a proof that my map was a copy, I beg leave to aſk him, what inference he would have drawn, if our maps had materially *diſagreed?* In the ‡ 74th page however, Mr. Bryant ſays "in *many reſpects* Mr. Morritt's map *differs* from Chevalier's" (which is true), and then he concludes they were both the work of *fancy*; or *perhaps* of *recollection*; according to him then, firſt we *agree*, then we *diſagree*, then my map is *a copy* from Mr. Chevalier's, then it was *not a copy* but a *work of fancy*. *Ohe jam ſatis.*

That ſome errors and inaccuracies exiſt in my delineation of the country, and muſt exiſt, I am well aware. At the time I was in the Troad I was perfectly ſatisfied with Chevalier's deſcription, and had no idea of the doubts which have ſince been ſtarted, on a ſubject which, in that ſituation, appeared to me inconteſtably decided. I had no inſtruments with me to make a geometrical ſurvey of the plain, but I had Chevalier's map, and a compaſs. With theſe I obſerved the general outlines, and bearings of places, and corrected what ſeemed to me materially deficient; as for inſtance § the relative ſituation of the ſprings, and a few other points of that ſort. Since I came home, I alſo converſed with Mr. Dallaway,

NOTES.

* Some Obſervations, p. 61.—† Some Obſervations, *paſſim.* – ‡ See Obſervations.

§ See the two Maps.

who took a ſecond rough ſurvey of the plain, the year after he had been there with Mr. Stockdale and myſelf; furniſhed with theſe materials I could not heſitate about the map I gave, which was calculated to convey a good general idea of the plain, and was quite accurate enough to anſwer the purpoſe for which it was wanted; but I have no doubt that a more accurate ſurvey may be taken, and I believe will ſtill farther illuſtrate Homer. I muſt beg the reader's pardon for not having done this myſelf; but he will recollect that I knew nothing then of the doubts of Engliſh literati, or the objections Mr. Bryant had made to M. Chevalier; neither had I the leaſt idea of a controverſy on this ſubject, much leſs that I ſhould take a part in it. I hoped alſo that my engravings would in ſome degree compenſate for the inaccuracy of my map. I do not think, however, any blame attaches either upon Mr. Chevalier or myſelf, for giving a map of the plain and immediate environs as they *now* appear, inſtead of giving what Mr. Bryant ſeems to have expected, * a map of a whole diſtrict, including Dardanus, Cotylus, Gargarus, &c. For the the relative ſituation of theſe we muſt refer the reader to D'Anville, and other good geographers, particularly to † thoſe who have been upon the ſpot. Neither were we bound to conjecture the ſituations of other ancient towns. But we have given merely the ‡ *topography* of Troy, and we have aſſerted that the Geography of the reſt of the diſtrict furniſhes no arms to combat our hypotheſis; if it does, others may produce them. A ſimilar objection may be made from the cloſet to every

NOTES.

* Some Obſervations, p. 51.—† See Chandler.

‡ In a map of Middleſex does any one object the omiſſion of Surrey, Hertfordſhire, or Berkſhire, or does any one infer from thence that the map is erroneous, and would be proved ſo by a more extended ſurvey? that ſurvey ſhould be taken, and the faults proved before the aſſertion is ſo boldly hazarded.

ancien

ancient map. *All this, you may ſay, is very plauſible; but why not give the country farther to the North, South, Eaſt, or Weſt? And then conclude that it "is not *ſuffered to appear*, becauſe it would ruin the author's plan if admitted." It is enough for me if the map is conſiſtent with itſelf and with Homer. That it is at leaſt more like the country it repreſents, than any other, formed (however ingeniouſly) by a fire-ſide in England, will, perhaps, to many readers ſeem highly probable. Of the miſtakes made in his, however, Mr. Bryant ſays, I have not produced one inſtance; when a map taken on the ſpot contradicts his in almoſt every point, one would think that thoſe inſtances had been furniſhed, and perhaps in the moſt efficacious manner poſſible. Nor do I differ with M. Chevalier about the ſituation of Tenedos; it is exactly where he placed it; but it is not in my map, which was confined to the plain; the ſcale I had made uſe of not admitting the iſland; and I thought the objection ariſing from a line in Virgil not worth notice. Virgil never was looked on as an accurate geographer, and what he ſays is unſupported by other authorities. Tenedos is viſible every where from the ſhore, and from the hills on which the Trojan tombs are found, but a range of low hills ſhuts out the plain from the Ægean.

As a very reſpectable and learned character has incurred Mr. Bryant's cenſure, for publiſhing in the Britiſh Critic a favourable opinion of my work, and alſo for having been miſled by me into a ſupport of the moſt erroneous, and fanciful ſyſtem of topography that could be deviſed; I thought it my duty to ſtate thoſe facts clearly (if I could,) on which that ſyſtem was founded. Mr. Bryant has alſo aſſociated this gentleman with me as *my friend*;

NOTE.

* See the whole argument advanced by Mr. Bryant—Some Obſervations, p. 51.

 this

this is an honour to which I had no title, not being in the leaſt degree acquainted with him, except by name; and that advantage I poſſeſs in common with, I believe, every literary man in England. Among the cenſures Mr. Bryant inflicts upon me, I acknowledge this flattering compliment, which overbalances them; although I am not ſorry the learned critic is not *really* leagued with me; as I would rather owe his good opinion to his juſtice, than to his partiality, however highly I ſhould eſteem myſelf honoured by it.

If I have ſucceeded in anſwering theſe topographical arguments, the queſtion ſtands as it did *before Mr. Bryant wrote. Homer's ſtory is certainly adapted to Phrygia, and this is already a preſumption in favour of its hiſtorical truth. To prove that it was falſe has been attempted, but I think cannot be accompliſhed; I do not ſee any arguments brought forward but what have been already refuted. † Mr. Bryant however not only attacks my arguments but my ſtile, and almoſt every expreſſion in the firſt two pages of my book. Theſe I entirely abandon; my ſtile is poſſibly very bad, and the reader's own taſte will induce him to cenſure me, perhaps, much more than a critical judgment, though coming from Mr. Bryant's very highly reſpected authority. When he however charges me with ‡*hatred*, *ill-will*, *malignity*, *contempt*, &c. I am more deeply concerned, and I can never acquieſce in his deciſion; I muſt

NOTES.

* I by no means feel inclined to acknowledge the force of any *other* arguments urged in his laſt two works. I cannot perceive any that are not a repetition of his firſt work, illuſtrated however, and put with much ingenuity. I think they have been ſufficiently anſwered by the Britiſh Critic for January 1800; but even if Mr. Bryant ſhould have eſtabliſhed ſome *probabilities* againſt Troy, while much ſtronger remain oppoſed to him, we cannot accede to his opinion; and we have his own ſanction for this. He tells us "a ſyſtem founded on a variety of arguments, cannot be *in the leaſt* affected, ſhould one or two be arraigned as inconcluſive." Can the united evidence of the ancient Hiſtorians be ſet aſide on the ſcore of one or two contradictory fables?

† Obſervations, 78.—‡ Expoſtulation, p. 6. Obſervations, *paſſim*.

therefore

therefore examine his proofs upon this ſubject. Now to read his account of me in his laſt two publications, the reader would conclude naturally that I was the moſt violent, malicious, unmannerly, petulant reptile, that ever put pen to paper. "*Tantæné animis cœleſtibus iræ?* But in truth I had no ſort of intention, had it been in my power, (as it moſt certainly was not) to leſſen Mr. Bryant's literary character; to which my ill-will and hatred muſt have been directed; as *perſonally* I could not well hate a man I never ſaw. That character ſtands upon other grounds far different from any diſcuſſion about the exiſtence of Troy; nor did I ever know that Mr. Bryant choſe to ſtake it upon the iſſue of this queſtion. He had brought forward arguments, which *came from him with a weight, they ſeemed to me very little entitled to, from their intrinſic value; and his very extenſive reading, ſupplied him with a variety of quotations, which he interpreted in a manner, I thought, unwarranted by the ancient authors to whom he referred. I brought forward theſe paſſages, and I ſuppoſed that a partiality natural enough to his own hypotheſis, had induced him to ſee in them much more than the reader could; as for inſtance, †in the paſſage relative to Daphne of Thebes. It was Mr. Bryant's object to prove that Homer probably compoſed his ſtory from Egyptian materials; to accompliſh this he mentions Daphne, and refers to Diodorus, who ſays "Homer borrowed many of his verſes from her;" by Thebes, Mr. Bryant ſays, was *originally* meant, Thebes in Egypt. To this I had objected, that in Diodorus the whole

NOTES.

* The perſonal reſpect due, and moſt highly due to the character of Mr. Bryant, had it been extended to an acquieſcence in his arguments, might have led to ſome miſtakes, which he himſelf will now acknowledge, when he recollects the opinions he entertained on the authenticity of Rowley; his character was, I believe, very little injured by the refractory diſtant of the author of the Archæological Epiſtle; even a ludicrous reply to a bad argument, was not then conſidered as a perſonal invective.

† See Bryant on the war of Troy, and Vindication, p. 33.

paſſage

paſſage alludes to Thebes in Bœotia, and is therefore groſsly perverted in order to ſupport a ſyſtem; *ſo thought alſo the Britiſh Critic. The charge we brought againſt him was certainly "the quoting Diodorus, and going directly contrary to what he expreſsly ſaid;" and †Mr. Bryant ſays, that this is undoubtedly true, nay more, that he has acted in this manner a hundred or perhaps five hundred times. To quote an author we differ from when we try to confute him, is indeed uſual enough; but certainly the caſe is different, when we quote him as *an authority*, and ſtill worſe when he is the *only* authority, as Diodorus is in this caſe. But Mr. Bryant ſays, and proves with much learning, that the city Taphanes in Egypt was called ‡Daphnes and Daphne by the Greeks. Afterwards "ſhe was a ſuppoſed Sibyl," little better than a gipſey, whoſe father (Tireſias) was turned into a woman, then back again into a man, and whoſe whole hiſtory is a fable; if ſo, how in the name of common ſenſe can we draw inferences from the ſtory of Diodorus? If Daphne never exiſted, how could Homer borrow her verſes? If ſhe did exiſt, where is the proof of her being an Egyptian? in ſhort, why is ſhe mentioned at all, if all that is told us is vague and contradictory?

In another §place it was requiſite to ſhew that Homer's authority, as an hiſtorian, was looked upon by Herodotus as of no value.

NOTES.

* Britiſh Critic Review for January 1799.

† Expoſtulation, p. 49. He inſtances the quotations he gives from the Britiſh Critic, and yet he ſays, he differs from him in every article. Is this a ſimilar inſtance?

‡ I ſuppoſe it muſt be from want of comprehenſion that I cannot perceive the tendency of this argument; but what inference can poſſibly be drawn from this Greek verſion of an Egyptian name? It was *not* the name of a prieſteſs, and Mr. Bryant owns that many places of this name occur in different parts of the world; and yet this is all he can bring forward to ſhew that "he had *ſome* reaſon for his opinion:" ſurely this is *very little* reaſon, either to agree with, or to diſſent from Diodorus.

§ See Bryant on the war of Troy, p. 86. *et ſeq.*

A difference between them is ſtated, in which the hiſtorian ſupports the account given by the Egyptian prieſts againſt that of the Poet. He alſo mentions the Cyprian verſes, and then Mr. Bryant ſaid, he diſmiſſes them with the utmoſt contempt! "Away with them together, a long farewell to each; both to Homer, and the Cyprian Verſes." *I guarded the reader here againſt Mr. Bryant's tranſlation, and gave the original; but, ſays †Mr. Bryant, χαιρε is ſometimes uſed as a term of contempt, and that in many inſtances. As for example, Ελπις ϗ συ τυχη μεγα χαιρετε, &c. *Spes et fortuna valete*. A long farewell to Hope and Fortune; this does not ſeem very contemptuous; but ſuppoſing ‡χαιρε is ſometimes uſed as an expreſſion of contempt, what can any one think of Mr. Bryant's tranſlation in this place? where Herodotus has for ſome pages endeavoured to aſſert the *truth* of Homer's ſtory. For he ſhews in how many points it agreed with the hiſtory of Thone, and Proteus, with which he was acquainted through the Egyptian prieſts. The point Mr. Bryant ſhould have attended to, perhaps was the coincidence of theſe accounts; the Egyptians were acquainted with the occaſion of the war, they ſuppoſed Helen the wife of Menelaus, and Paris a prince of Phrygia; the annals of the Perſian Empire alſo correſponded with thoſe of Greece. According to the Egyptian

NOTES.

* Vindication, p. 67. See Herodotus, L. 2. c. 118. p. 157.

† Obſervations 38.

Ελπις ϗ συ τυχη μεγα χαιρετε, τον λιμενα ευρον;
Ουδεν εμοι χ'υμιν παιζετε τας μετ' εμε.

Away with ye *fond* Hope and Fortune; I have gained a ſafe Harbour; I have nothing more to do with you: Sport with others for the future who may come after me. Bryant.

‡ I cannot ſuppoſe it myſelf; it is true that Stephanus remarks, "*et iis χαιρειν dicimus quos in malam rem abire jubemus*;" So good b'w'ye, or farewell, may be uſed *ironically*; but this *Irony* would hardly find a place in the pages of an hiſtorian; and χαιρειν, like *farewell*, cannot be uſed in a *literal* bad ſenſe.

ſtory,

ſtory. Helen never was ſuffered to leave Egypt; this ſhows that Homer was not the inventor of the ſtory which they told, and ſurely their agreeing in every other point with the poet, if his account was entirely fabulous, is more extraordinary than their differing in one point of a real hiſtory, which is not at all uncommon. Mr. Bryant accuſes me of neglecting this part of the argument, and drawing off the reader's attention, by cavilling at a looſe tranſlation of χαιρε, the meaning of which was rightly expreſſed, as he ſtill thinks. The queſtion however is not altogether indifferent; I think that if Herodotus deſpiſed Homer, his authority ought very much to influence our judgment; but ſince ſcarce any man has ſhewn a greater veneration than he did for the Poet, a proof of contempt muſt be better founded than on a dubious meaning of the word χαιρε. It is not ſufficient even to prove that it may ſometimes be uſed in a bad ſenſe; there is poſitive proof it cannot be ſo underſtood here, for let any one examine the context and decide. If Mr. Bryant therefore brings the opinion of Herodotus forward to influence that of others, he muſt allow me to bring forward the whole of the paſſage alluded to, and he muſt excuſe me if I take ſome notice of the very ſingular tranſlation he gave. He alſo ſays it is of *trifling* moment; why then give it at all? certainly I was not the firſt perſon who *trifled* about the meaning of this word, but I could not paſs it unnoticed, as it appeared to me a very ſtrong proof, that anxiety for the ſupport of his ſyſtem, had induced Mr. Bryant to ſee that contempt of Homer in Herodotus, which Herodotus never expreſſed and never felt.

Theſe and ſimilar paſſages certainly decided my opinion that Mr. Bryant's mind was not ſo neutral as he himſelf perhaps imagined in this affair. By ſhowing this I leſſened the weight of his authority, which in all caſes where he is really impartial, has and muſt have great influence on every reader. This appeal then from his Judgment was of uſe to my argument; where truth is the object

of inveſtigation, it is ſafer to depend on the unbiaſſed judgment of the world, than on the prejudiced opinions of any man, however acute his penetration, or however extenſive his erudition. But this charge of prejudice muſt be proved in order to authoriſe the appeal. It reſts partly upon the facts I have mentioned; if theſe things are true, could I aſſign a motive more excuſable than Prejudice for Mr. Bryant's conduct? or was it uncandid in me to ſuppoſe that he was himſelf miſled, where attempts were made that ſeemed evidently calculated to miſlead others? But if the charge was really ſo unpardonable, why has Mr. Bryant given me an opportunity of renewing it? Why has he aſſerted that *I tax him with ignorance? that in my book, all that he has ſaid is treated as conjecture? that, †I tell the world his knowledge on the ſubject in which he is engaged, is on a par with the moſt ignorant? when on turning to ‡the paſſage alluded to in the Vindication, there is not one word to this purpoſe. So far from his ignorance I mention his erudition, and the whole ſentence is relative only to the very dubious information we poſſeſs of the life, and country of Homer. This is then a *miſrepreſentation* throughout, of the very book he was attacking.

§ There is another paſſage from my book, of which, I believe, and hope, the negligence of Mr. Bryant's Printer has cauſed the miſquotation. Agamemnon was a title, it is ſaid, ſometimes given to Jupiter; Mr. Bryant hence concludes, that Homer borrowed the names of his heroes from provincial Deities; and that of courſe the hiſtory was all fabulous. Mr. Morritt ſaid, that "ſuppoſing Agamemnon to have been one of the various names, or

NOTES.

* Obſervations, p. 72—95.—† Expoſtulation, p. 5.—‡ Vindication, p. 31.

§ Obſervations, p. 31. Vindication, p. 59.

epithets, under which Jupiter was honoured, it was juſt as probable that it ſhould be given to men, by the cuſtom of the times, as that Homer, in violation of every cuſtom, ſhould adopt a name, which could *not* be given to men." The meaning is, I truſt, not very obſcure; if Agamemnon was a name of Jupiter, and alſo a uſual name of mortals, as Eurycreon, Eurymedon, &c. the hero of that name might exiſt, and Homer's ſtory be true. If the name could not be given to men, in real life, but was confined to the God, the falſehood of the ſtory is evident; but this is not proved, nor is it probable Homer would have adopted ſuch a name. In tranſcribing this paſſage, the word *not* in the laſt line is changed into the word *only*, by *miſtake*, I truſt, and not by *deſign*; however, ſince Mr. Bryant here taxes me with confuſion, and, in other words, with talking nonſenſe, I muſt obſerve that the confuſion and nonſenſe is chiefly owing to this alteration, which certainly turns the whole argument into a maſs of abſurdity.

In anſwer to another argument of *Mr. Bryant's, founded on the ſize of the Grecian fortifications, I had obſerved, that they were probably not very durable, becauſe, in the firſt place, they were finiſhed in one day by the Grecian army; becauſe the wall was pulled down, and a breach made in it by Sarpedon, and becauſe Hector and Patroclus leaped over the ditch which defended it. In the ſeventh Book, after deſcribing the Funerals of the Trojan warriors, Homer continues to †deſcribe thoſe of the Greeks, after the bodies were burnt the army retired to their ſhips. "Then before the day broke, while it was yet night, they raiſed a mound of earth over the bodies; and then they built the wall; "afterwards it is ſaid," the ſun went down, and the work of the Grecians was finiſhed. They feaſt in the night, and then retire to reſt." I agree with‡

NOTES.

* Vindication, p. 57.—† Hom. Il. H. v. 433—475.—‡ Obſervations, p. 18.

Mr.

Mr. Bryant, that there was more than *one* day allotted for the performance of all theſe duties, for the poet allots *two*; one for burning the dead, and one for raiſing the wall. Mr. Bryant ſays, the Poet ſpeaks only of the parts of the civil day, in which the people were occupied. It does not appear ſo from Homer's expreſſions here; and his continuation, after the building of the wall, of what paſt in the night, appears as if he was giving a connected account of their conduct. It was thus underſtood by many ancient critics. For in a ſubſequent book it is ſaid, that the Gods employed nine days in the deſtruction of the rampart: Εννημαρ. *Some of the ancient writers had objected, that the Gods were employed very long, conſidering the wall was only the work of *one day*, and built by human hands. Crates wiſhed to ſolve the difficulty, but he did not ſolve it by ſuppoſing the Greeks to have been longer employed, but by leſſening the efforts of the Gods, and propoſing to read Εν ημαρ, *one day*, inſtead of nine, in this place. Euſtathius does not adopt this hypercriticiſm; but he alſo never ſeems to attack the principle of it, viz. that the wall was built in one day. Such were my inducements for ſuppoſing this to have been Homer's meaning, and I cannot therefore abandon my opinion, without fancying I underſtand him better than the ancient Greeks themſelves.

The next obſervation I had made, is that Sarpedon pulled the Battlement down, and a breach was thereby made in the wall, a circumſtance which implied no great height, and very little ſtrength of maſonry. He pulled down one of the battlements, which

NOTE.

* See Notes of Euſtathius. Homer. Il. M. l. 16. (*Junii. Baſil.* 1558.)

 defended

defended the wall, *η δ' εσπετο πασα, τειχος εγυμνωθη, and that a breach practicable for the aſſailants was made, appears by the latter part of the line πολεεσσι δε θηκε κελευθον. A wall however of ſix or ſeven feet in height, with battlements of ſuch a conſtruction, need not be ſuppoſed to laſt for ages. The laſt aſſertion was, that "the ditch, rampart and paliſadoes in the ditch were not very large, ſince they were within the compaſs of a deſperate leap." By the rampart I did not mean the wall, but the vallum or mound that defended the ditch in moſt ancient fortifications; that there was one however in this place, does not perhaps appear from Homer. He poſitively ſays that it was *not eaſy* to leap over it, and the horſes ſtood neighing on the brink, † Ουτ' υπερθορεειν σχεδον, which certainly does not imply impoſſibility. Afterwards I had ſaid, Hector leaped over it, and Patroclus. In this paſſage I was extremely wrong, as Hector did not leap over it, and Mr. Bryant juſtly reprehends my aſſertion; I cannot however give up Patroclus, and the inference will ſtill be equally ſtrong. The words are to me as deciſive as poſſible. ‡ Ανιχρυ δ' ανα λαφρον υπερθορον ωκεες ιπποι. Here Mr. Bryant ſays, they "bounded through the trench, quite through to the oppoſite ſide. For the verb θορω does not neceſſarily ſignify to leap over, but to prance or bound; certainly; but if θορω ſignifies to bound, υπερθορω ſignifies to bound over, or elſe what is the meaning of the prepoſition. The word ανα alſo implies aſcent, and the paſſage is as ſtrong as poſſible, "They leapt up over the ditch from ſide to ſide." This Mr. Bryant ſays was not poſſible; for this however Homer is accountable; to be ſure he qualifies it by ſaying, that the horſes were immortal. But all this is not abſolutely the ſtrength of my argument. Mr. Bryant ſaid that ſuch a ditch was durable, and the credibility of Homer's narration depended on its appearance; I only brought theſe points forward to prove the work was probably

NOTES.

* M. 54.—† Hom. Il. II. v. 380. See obſervations, p. 22.

not

not very durable; but I had further obſerved, that many ſimilar encampments had been deſtroyed, without impeaching the credibility of the authors who mentioned them; that at all events the argument proved too much in this caſe, and to this point no anſwer has been attempted. As to the manner it was deſtroyed, an inundation cauſed by the Gods, operated in a very ſupernatural mode; for all the rivers of Ida contributed. This article Mr. Bryant ſays is either believed or palliated by me. Believed it certainly never was; and how do I palliate it? by ſaying that even if this whole ſtory was falſe, and the wall and rampart only introduced as an ornament to the Iliad, I ſee no reaſon for diſbelieving the ground work of the poem; but I do not think we have any reaſon to ſuppoſe there was no wall, or that it might not be deſtroyed by floods from Ida, and buried in the ſands mentioned by Homer and Strabo as exiſting in this part of the plain. Homer exalts this fact, (if it is one) by the ſupernatural intervention of the Gods; but a fable may have its original foundation in real hiſtory, and we know that poetical fiction is frequently ſo conſtructed. This is the real argument, and I hope Mr. Bryant will allow it to be more **concluſive* than moſt of mine are admitted to be.

A ſimilar reply has been made to another part of my Vindication. †It had been ſaid that Anaxagoras, the great and philoſophic friend of Pericles, and Metrodorus of Lampſacus, diſbelieved the whole of Homer's ſtory; and that Anaxagoras reſided at Lampſacus; and both therefore lived in the vicinity of Troy. Suppoſing this ſtatement true, I had obſerved that Anaxagoras was born at leaſt 687 years after the war of Troy, and that he is ſaid to have been the firſt man who diſbelieved it, that neither his work nor Metro-

NOTES.

* See Obſervations, p. 73.—† Vindication, p. 63. Obſervations, p. 35.

dorus's

dorus's have been handed down to us. *Now many idle and doubtful ſtories are told of Anaxagoras by Diogenes Laertius, as Mr. Bryant himſelf allows, and yet he is the only author quoted for this ſtory. That, according to him, Anaxagoras was poſſibly never reſident at Lampſacus, but died at Athens; and that of †Metrodorus very little was known. That it was not probable their opinions, if well founded, ſhould have no weight at the time they lived and wrote, and that their being ‡ conſigned to oblivion," while Homer's ſtory ſurvived, was a ſtrong preſumption againſt their arguments. The profound philoſophy and celebrated character of Anaxagoras is ſet up in oppoſition to theſe doubts; but if his arguments had ſo little weight with thoſe to whom his profound philoſophy and character were ſo much better known, why ſhould they have more now, when all his writings are loſt, and we only receive this opinion from §Phavorinus, quoted by Diogenes Laertius? But after all, did theſe philoſophers diſbelieve the ſtory? I think it cannot be inferred from what Diogenes Laertius has told us. Anaxagoras *ſeems* to have been the firſt who ſhewed that Homer's poetry treated περι αρετης και δικαιοσυνης, of virtue and juſtice; Metrodorus thought he diſcovered in it alſo an allegorical alluſion

NOTES.

* Obſervations, p. 37. See Diogenes Laertius, L. 2. *ſeg.* 8. and *ſeq.*

† This friend of Anaxagoras was clearly not the celebrated Metrodorus of Lampſacus, for Diogenes afterwards tells us, that this laſt was the Scholar of Epicurus, and of courſe was much poſterior to the age of Pericles. See Diog. Laert. 10. *ſeg.* 22.

‡ Theſe words Mr. Bryant conſiders as unneceſſarily contemptuous. It is however a plain matter of fact, as an author he is *conſigned to oblivion*, for his works on this ſubject (if there were any) did not exiſt in the time of Diogenes, or he would not have quoted Phavorinus. As a man of great learning and Philoſophy, *his name*, I own, has not been conſigned to oblivion, but his opinions have. See Obſervations, p. 37.

§ The word uſed by Diogenes in mentioning the account from Phavorinus, is, that Anaxagoras *ſeems* to have been the firſt who thought Homer's ſtory treated of virtue and juſtice, Δοκει. Can we adopt as proofs, arguments drawn from expreſſions ſo uncertain, and authors quoted through quotations of other authors?

to

to natural hiſtory. Suppoſe the one to have diſcovered the moral of Homer, and the other to have adapted his Gods and Goddeſſes to the natural philoſophy of the times, by making Jupiter the Air, for inſtance, Neptune the Sea, &c. does it at all appear from hence that they diſbelieved the war of Troy? In the firſt place then, it will be difficult to prove that they were of this opinion, and ten times more ſo to ſupport them in it.

*But almoſt every other writer, and many of the earlieſt writers believed the war, and Mr. Bryant refers to p. 69 of my work; where, he ſays, "I would maintain the certainty of the war, from its being univerſally credited, and credited by perſons of the greateſt learning and knowledge. †But theſe perſons alſo believed in Centaurs, Satyrs, Nymphs, &c. In Augury and Aruſpicy, Homer maintained that horſes could ſpeak, &c. &c. *cum multis aliis.*" What has religious belief to do with hiſtorical facts? is not the evidence on which our faith reſts in matters of Religion totally different, in all its parts, from the teſtimony on which we ground our belief in hiſtory? In the religious belief of the ancients, the evidence only tended to prove the Inſpiration of ſome oracle, or other groſs impoſture; but in matters of hiſtory, evidence of the fact was required. Surely Thucydides, after carefully conſidering the very objections Mr. Bryant makes, records the Trojan war as an hiſtorical fact, and certainly not as he would have recorded the war of the Titans. I had obſerved that theſe ancient authors had acceſs to many writings, and were acquainted with many traditions now loſt; and Mr. Bryant taking no notice at all of their au-

NOTES.

* Obſervations, p. 39.

† Guicciardini was a Roman Catholick, believed in miracles of Saints, tranſubſtantiation, &c. as all Italy and a great part of Europe did at the time he wrote. Does any one on that account diſpute the truth of his hiſtorical narrative?

thority, except as being credulous believers in fable, quotes Libanius, and then ſays, * that authors like him deſerve more regard than I am willing to ſhew, becauſe they had acceſs to many hiſtories now loſt. What regard then is due to Thucydides, Herodotus, &c? But if the religion of the Greeks induced them to believe in this fable, what influence had that religion upon the prieſts of Memphis, and the hiſtorians of Perſepolis? for the hiſtory of Troy was found by Herodotus in both theſe places, and in both with little variation from the Greek ſtory. If then Mr. Bryant will ſhew that the †*Koran of Mahomet* is believed by nations who are not Mahometans, we will allow him to put the Iliad upon the ſame footing with it, but not till then.

Contrary alſo to every principle of criticiſm, Mr. Bryant in another place maintains that ‡Euripides was equally to be relied on with Homer, or any other *foreigner*; he (Euripides) being of Hellas, and Homer being like him a Poet. But Homer's country was not known; he certainly by his language does not ſeem what Euripides would have called *a foreigner*, and he lived five or ſix hundred years earlier, a circumſtance Mr. Bryant entirely paſſes over. Yet he ſays, that, while I reject Euripides, I refer to Tzetzes, (certainly not as authority to diſprove the ancient writers;) and even to Freinſhemius, Vindication, p. 117. If the reader will have the goodneſs to turn to this page, he will ſee that Mr. Chevalier had tranſcribed a long account from Freinſhemius, and that I notice it expreſsly in this place only to carry it back to Arrian, of whoſe account it is a poſitive tranſlation. I never mention Freinſhemius or Tzetzes as au-

NOTES.

* This argument of Mr. Bryant certainly proves too much for his purpoſe. Why ſhould we allow that authority to Libanius, which he denies to the earlier writers. Surely the reverſe of this mode of reaſoning would be more obvious to unbiaſſed minds. Obſervations, p. 46.

† Obſervations, p. 40.—‡ Obſervations, p. 28.

thority,

thority, and therefore this is an additional inſtance of miſrepreſentation, and in a book written by Mr. Bryant to vindicate himſelf from this very unpleaſant charge. In the ninety-firſt page, Mr. Bryant himſelf brings forward Monſieur Paſchal as an evidence againſt the Trojan war, ſo that if I had quoted Freinſhemius, his modernſm could not have been any objection.

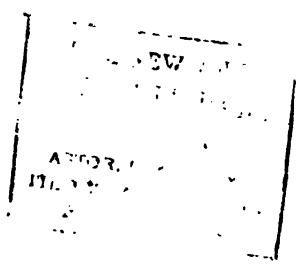
I have thus gone through the moſt material arguments relative to the Topography of Troy. I have ſhewn, I truſt, that it is conſiſtent with Homer to a very great degree, and that Strabo as well as Pliny, tend greatly to confirm our ſtatement; but that all three are decidedly incompatible with Mr. Bryant's map and his conjecture relative to Ophrynium. I have thought it neceſſary alſo to reply to ſome of the charges advanced againſt me in Mr. Bryant's Obſervations; eſpecially ſince he has repeated many of them in his laſt work. I never thought when I wrote my firſt Anſwer, that it would be arraigned as abuſive, or that Mr. Bryant conſidered his perſonal credit impeached by an attack on his arguments. Since however, "unfounded cenſures cannot but affect the character of the cenſurer," I have been obliged to ſhew that mine are not totally unfounded, and that ſome miſquotations and miſrepreſentations of cited paſſages really do appear in Mr. Bryant's firſt works, and are repeated in his defence of them. I infer from hence that he is not neutral on this ſubject, that he ſees all paſſages in a point of view more favourable for his argument, than others will. I therefore caution the readers of his work, from truſting to his quotations: at the ſame time, I believe, he himſelf, (ſo far from being guilty of intentional fraud,) has the greateſt reliance upon the proofs he gives. Prejudices of a ſimilar nature, may for ought I know bias me. I claim no neutrality; but I reſt the controverſy upon the arguments I have brought forward; Mr. Bryant ſays they are inconcluſive; with great ſubmiſſion, I think differently, but others muſt decide the queſtion. I have as high a veneration as any one

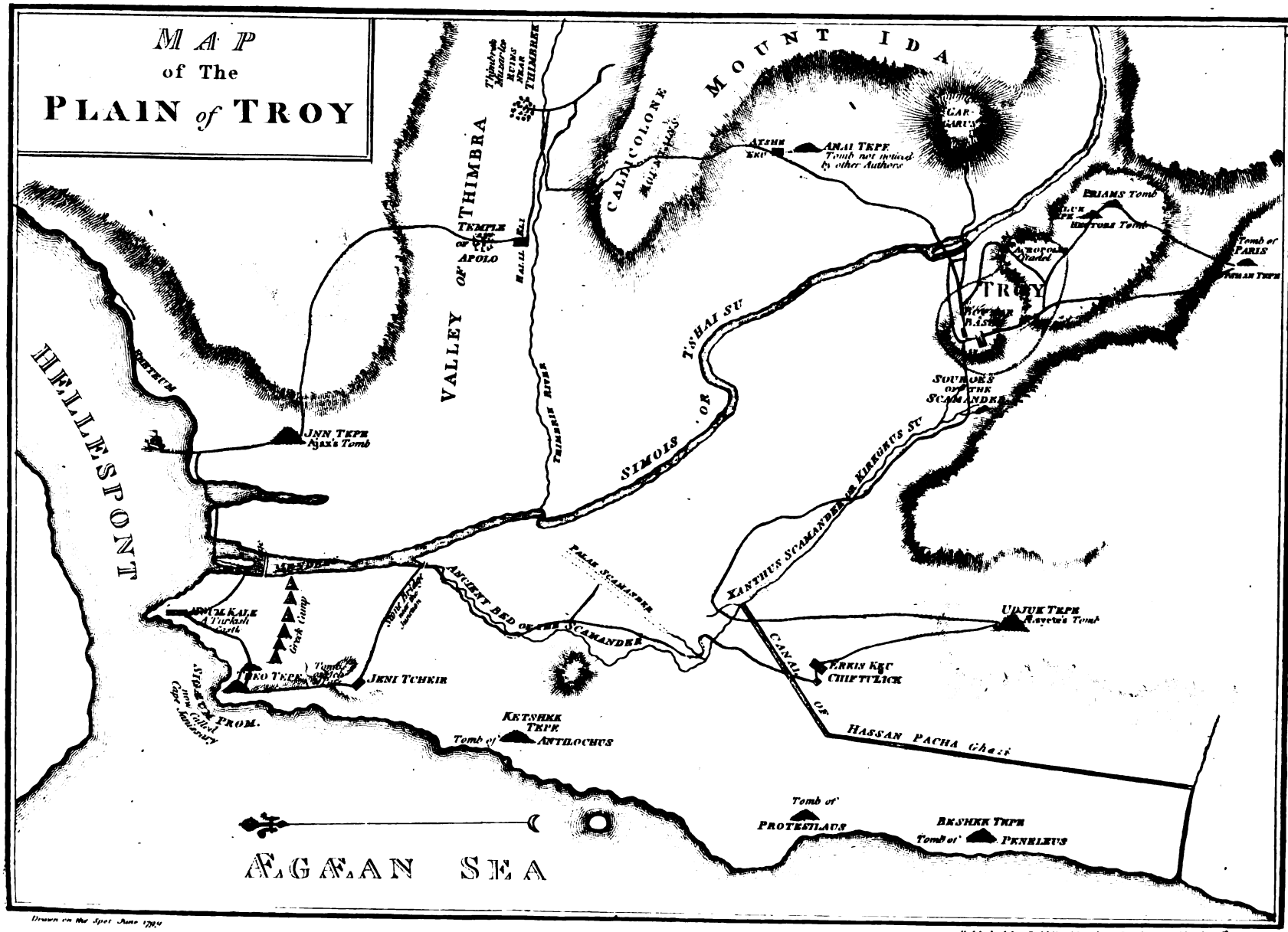
for the erudition, and literary character of Mr. Bryant, but the beſt and greateſt men have ſometimes adopted very ſingular opinions, which no extent of literature or acuteneſs of reaſoning could defend. I am very glad to find that in his laſt two works the Egyptian part of the hypotheſis is abandoned for the preſent, as it certainly tends to ſimplify the queſtion between us. I ſhall therefore conclude, with Mr. Bryant's favourite paſſage, which I can aſſure him, I ſhall always underſtand without any mixture of contempt:

Ωμηρος μεν νυν και τα ΒΡΥΑΝΤΙΑ επεα χαιρετω.

THE END.

[*Printed by* H. Baldwin *and* Son, *New Bridge-ſtreet, London.*





Drawn on the Spot June 1794

Published by Robt Faulder New Bond Street March 10th 1800

REMARKS

AND

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

PLAIN OF TROY,

MADE DURING AN EXCURSION
in JUNE, 1799.

By *WILLIAM FRANCKLIN*, CAPTAIN IN THE SERVICE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY,

AND

AUTHOR OF A TOUR TO PERSIA, *&c.*

" ——————— juvat ire, & Dorica caſtra,
" Deſertóſq; videre locos, littúſq; relictum."

VIRG. Æneid, Lib. II. Lines 27 et ſeq.

LONDON:

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By C. Clarke, Northumberland Court, Strand.

1800.

TO THE REVEREND

WILLIAM VINCENT, D.D.

AND

HEAD MASTER OF WESTMINSTER SCHOOL,

THE

Following Obſervations are inſcribed as a Tribute of Gratitude, and as a Mark of Perſonal Reſpect, by his

moſt obedient, and

obliged Friend and Servant,

The AUTHOR.

LONDON,
March 22d, 1800.

PREFACE.

FROM the first publication of Mr. Chevalier's Description of the Plain of Troy to the present hour, few Englishmen of liberal education have visited the Levant without extending their tour to the Troad also, and examining the spot with that degree of anxious curiosity which is natural to all who have been acquainted with Homer in their youth.

Engaged as many of us may have been in the various pursuits of active life, which have diverted our attention from our classical acquirements, or Greek literature more especially, the name of Homer kindles again our passion for his writings and we hasten to the scene of the Iliad, with as much ardour as pilgrims once visited the Holy city, and the waters of Jordan.

Several

Several of theſe tours which have been publiſhed, and all the viſitors of the ſpot with whom I have converſed, unite in bearing teſtimony to the general fidelity of Mr. Chevalier, and never have I heard it doubted by any one, but that the ſtream he has aſſumed is the true Scamander of Homer.

We may be ſeverally miſtaken, or have different opinions upon ſome inferior or ſubordinate points, but that the general view of the Plain of Troy in its actual ſtate at the preſent hour, does cloſely correſpond with all the leading circumſtances detailed in the Iliad, cannot be queſtioned by any one that has viſited the ſpot with Homer in his hand.

Such obſervations as I was enabled to make in a ſhort tour of four days, I here offer to the public as they occurred to my mind and were noted in my journal. Some obſervations may have ariſen ſince my return from reflection, reading, or converſation, but in my deſcription of the country I have made it a rule to alter nothing in order to give things a better appearance than they had at the moment the object

ject was before my eyes; and I muſt now add that however warmed my imagination might be with the love of Homer, however influenced by treading the ground which forms the ſcene of his deſcriptions, however pre-occupied by the aſſumption of Chevalier, or the reaſoning of Morritt, the love of truth would have compelled me to ſpeak out, if I had ſeen cauſe to detract from their opinions or to controvert their ſtatements. I have done this freely in one inſtance, which, by ſome perhaps, will be deemed rather eſſential than ſubordinate; but it diminiſhes nothing of my firm belief and conviction from the beſt view of the ground I could take, and the beſt compariſon of facts and circumſtances which I could collect, that the Plain of Troy deſcribed by Chevalier, is in all its general features the very ſcene of action which Homer has deſcribed in his poems.

REMARKS

AND

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

Plain of Troy.

——— Fuit Ilium et ingens
Gloria Teucrorum!

14th June, 1799. AT 5, A. M. I embarked on board the brig Bon Pere, about 60 tons, in company with Mr. Hope, bound for the Dardanelles, the Troad, and Smyrna.

At 11. The wind coming foul we came to anchor off Tophana.

15, 16. Wind bound.

17 at 6 P. M. we ſailed out of the harbour of Conſtantinople with a fair wind.

18. The wind being from the ſouthward, we made but little way. The Iſland of Marmora or Proconeſus was a head of us.

19. We paſſed the iſland of Marmora conſiſting of cragged and rifted rocks, out of which the beautiful marble muſt have been obtained, from which this Iſland had its name. At nine o'Clock at night a breeze ſprung up, and in the morning of the 20th at day light we caſt anchor at the mouth of the Dardanelles.

20th. We went on ſhore and viſited the Engliſh conſul, Signior Tarragani, a Jew, he received us with much hoſpitality, and aſſiſted us with every requiſite for our journey to the Plain of Troy. Mr. Tarragani had a large family conſiſting of a ſon and ſix daughters, ſome of whom were married and had children, who all reſiding under the ſame roof, compoſed a family truly patriarchal. A ſtriking ſimilarity of features pervaded the whole, which I have before had occaſion to obſerve as well in the Eaſt Indies as in Perſia. Whilſt at the houſe of the conſul we were introduced to another Jewiſh gentleman, a Mr. Gormazina, ſon of the late French conſul at the Dardanelles. This gentleman ſome years back had, at the inſtance of Count Choiſeul, the French ambaſſador, been induced to viſit the tomb of Achilles and dig there for relicks; with infinite labour he penetrated near the centre of the barrow, and at laſt found ſome curious remains, the principal of which were aſhes, charcoal, and bones.

It is true that two urns were likewiſe ſaid to be found and ſent to Count Choiſeul Gouffier, to which Mr. Chevalier,* perhaps out of too much reſpect to the Count, has aſſigned an importance greater than they deſerve, though he ſpeaks with caution. Now though an urn ought to be found, as urns, lacrymatories, &c. &c. are found in tumuli generally, yet the deſcription of theſe two has naturally given riſe to ſuſpicion, and to ſay

* Deſcription of the Plain of Troy, p. 153.

the

the leaſt, they were poſſibly added to the inventory to enhance the value of the labour in opening the ground; if this was the object, Mr. Gormazina who was rather impoſed upon himſelf, than deſirous of impoſing upon the count, was diſappointed of his reward, part of the relicks ſtill lay upon his hands, and Mr. Hope with a laudable zeal for the inveſtigation of antiquity rewarded him more amply for the remains, than the Count for his more ſplendid portion of the ornaments; the bones, aſhes, and fragments we ſaw, but it is neceſſary to attribute proof cautiouſly to ſuch evidence, where the curioſity of the virtuoſo gives a ſpur to the invention of the perſons he employs.

We took our leave of the Engliſh conſul, who was an agreeable man, he remembered to have ſeen Dr. Chandler whilſt here about five and thirty years back, and reminded us of his having permitted the Doctor to take his wife's picture.

Before we returned on board, we viſited the Aſiatic caſtle of the Dardanelles and inſpected the cannon of enormous caliber, which placed on beds without carriages, appear too unweildy to be of any effective ſervice or indeed to be fired off more than once. We ſaw likewiſe the famous cannon of Sultan Amurath, or Morad the II. as mentioned by De Tott, and found him correct in this account, as I have frequently done in many others. The

* Mr. Hope was ſo obliging as to offer me a ſmall portion of theſe relicks, which I accepted, and ſhall keep with at leaſt as much veneration as the earth of Mecca, or the Tooth of Jagernaut.

diameter is ſufficient to permit a man to ſit in the inſide, and the ball belonging to it is of the enormous weight of fifteen hundred pounds.

Having obtained a fermaun from the baſhaw of the Dardanelles to the agha of Koum Kala, and the diſtrict of Troy, Mr. Hope engaged a janiſſary to accompany us who had been recommended to me at Conſtantinople, by Mr. Thornton, a gentleman whoſe urbanity of manners and claſſical taſte, render his ſociety equally agreeable and inſtructive.

The caſtles which defend the entrance of the Dardanelles are about a mile aſunder, the current ſets rapidly into the Egean ſea, the ſides of the hills are highly cultivated, and covered with rich verdure, and the whole ſcene is intereſting.

In about two hours with a gentle breeze we reached the Rhætean promontory, and caſt anchor at no great diſtance from the tomb of Ajax, having in view the Sigæan promontory at the diſtance of about four miles, the caſtle of Koum Kala, with a diſtant proſpect of the iſlands of Imbros, Lemnos, and Samothrace.

Previous to our excurſion we viſited the tomb of Ajax, it is ſituated upon the Rhætean promontory, and commands a noble view of the Helleſpont, the Egean ſea, and great part of the Plain of Troy: the tumulus is of a circular form, ſurmounted at the top by a cone, its elevation may be about 60 feet from the level, though to the north eaſt it is in a ſloping direction, its weſtern face is intirely

tirely laid open, and diſcovers the remains of ſome very rude and ancient maſonry, with part of a wall running acroſs the maſſes of earth, brick, ſtone, and lime with ſhells, appear extremely well conſolidated, and are in all probability co-eval with the tumulus; others have however thought differently, and every one has a right to form his own judgment on the ſpot, but we muſt not omit to notice that though the Rhætean promontory, and the Sigæan, are the burying places of Ajax and Achilles; it does not appear that the Grecian army occupied the whole extent between the two promontories, that would have been too large to defend, and I ſhould rather ſuppoſe from an inſpection of the ground, that the Grecian camp, reached no further than the northern bank of the Simois, which falls into the Helleſpont near the modern village of Koum Kala, about two miles and a half diſtant from the Sigæan promontory, indeed if the Greeks had occupied the whole ſpace, here would have been no room for the Trojan auxiliaries, who it appears from the 10th book of Homer, were encamped on the ſea ſhore. Whilſt ſtanding on the ſummit of this barrow, I could not but call to mind the indignation of Ajax, while contending for the armour of Achilles, and the beautiful lines of Ovid, imprinted on my memory in early youth. I looked back upon the Sigæan ſhore, and felt like him the indignation of a ſoldier, when I reflected that the prize of valour, was carried off by the eloquence of an orator

Conſedere duces: &, vulgi ſtante corona,
Surgit ad hos clypei dominus ſeptemplicis Ajax.
Ut que erat impatiens iræ, *Sigæia torvo*
Littora reſpexit, claſſemque in littore vultu:
Intendenſque manus, Agimus, pro Jupiter, inquit,
Ante rates cauſam, & mecum confertur Ulyſſes!
At non Hectoreis dubitavit cedere flammis:
Quas ego ſuſtinui; quas hac a claſſe fugavi.

or the ſtill more intereſting lamentations of the chorus in the Ajax of Sophocles.

——————————— "O Teucer haſte,
Prepare ſome hollow foſs, for the remains
Of Ajax: Raiſe him *there* a monument,
By after ages ne'er to be forgotten."*

Having ordered poſt horſes over night, and made every preparation for our little tour, early in the morning Mr. Hope and myſelf, commenced our ſurvey of the Plain of Troy, and Mount Ida; we ſet off from the tomb of Ajax, called by the natives *In Tepe*,† our round lay along the ſkirts of a range of hills, extending to the N. E. on gaining the ſummit of this ridge, we had an open-

* Francklin's Sophocles, Ajax.

The reader will pardon this digreſſion, in conſideration that a military man, has more reſpect for an ancient warrior, than an orator, and that a ſon, may have a juſtifiable pride, in quoting the language of his father.

† I was not able to learn whether *In* was a ſignificant term in the modern languages of the country, but ſhould myſelf conjecture that *In* is ... Tepe, the *one* tumulus in oppoſition to ΔΥΟ Tepe at Sigæum.

ing

ing view of the Plain of Troy, with the barrow of Æſyetes, about nine miles diſtant, and the iſland of Tenedos to the ſouthward.

Proceeding along the ſame range, and keeping the barrow of Æſyetes ſtill in view, the country was rough and barren, but crowned with heath, ſhrubs, and wild lavender; in about half an hour we aſcended the range of hills, which bound the valley of Thymbra, and at half paſt eight A. M. by a gentle deſcent, we came to the view of a temple, dedicated to Apollo, near the village Halilali, in the valley of Thymbra, about five miles diſtant from the tomb of Ajax. Whilſt traverſing the heights of the valley of Thymbra, our attention was naturally called to reflect on the ground we trod, as bearing the ſame appellation at this hour, by which it was known to Homer, and though I have learned ſince my return, that the exiſtence of Troy itſelf is denied, I had at the moment no doubt upon my mind, but that as the name of Thimbreck and its poſition proved the geography of the Iliad to be juſt, it was an equal proof that Troy occupied the ſite allotted to it by the Poet. The rivers Æſopus, Rhodius, and Granicus, retained the names aſſigned to them by Homer, as long as they were mentioned by ancient geographers, and the towns of Abydus, Percotè, and Zelcia, are marked as diſtinctly in the march of Alexander, as in the page of the Iliad; could Homer be true in all the ſubordinate geography, and maintain a falſehood in regard to the capital alone? but there are no ruins, *etiam periere ruinæ*; this in the firſt place is a fact that I

am

am not convinced of, and of which I ſhall treat hereafter, and in the next, ruins are not neceſſary to prove the exiſtence of any place. There are no ruins of the Ilium of Strabo, and yet his teſtimony with that of the Macedonians, Romans, Fimbria, Julius, and Auguſtus, is ſufficient to prove that this Ilium as certainly exiſted as Rome itſelf, and if all the places round Troy continued to exiſt in the poſition Homer aſſigned to them, how could it be ſuppoſed that Troy was the only fiction? the continuance of the very name of Thimbrek is no more extraordinary than that of Mitilyn, Smyrna, Erekli, Stanchio, and a thouſand others, which are ſtill in being, corrupted indeed by time and the change of language, but ſtill in being, and though we ſhould build little upon the ruins found there to carry up its antiquity to the age of the Trojan war, they at leaſt prove what is demanded for Troy itſelf, that there was a town in this ſpot, and Strabo has placed the temple of the Thymbrean Apollo where Homer places Thymbra. The remains of the temple of Apollo are ſtill viſible, conſiſting of various blocks of marble, capitals, and columns, pedeſtals, and broken ſhafts, ſtrewing the ground to a conſiderable extent. Moſt of the pillars were of the Corinthian order and of the moſt exquiſite Parian marble: in traverſing over the ſite of the temple, I counted upwards of one hundred and fifty broken columns beſides ſhafts and capitals, which announce the temple to have been a magnificent building, and to correſpond with the appellation given to it by Virgil.

Da pro-

Da propriam Thymbræe domum!

underneath a ſmall oak is a block of marble two feet in height and, turned on its ſide, there is ſculptured on it a car with horſes, the feet and hinder part of which are ſtill viſible. In the car ſets victory with wings, and over the head of the figure I, which is much mutilated, runs a cornice, by which it ſhould ſeem that the whole piece had been deſigned to ornament the outſide of a temple; the wing of the figure is ſtill entire, the car is ſupported by two low wheels, the emboſſed work of which has periſhed; from the ſtyle of architecture as well as the deſign, I ſhould ſupect it to be of a date anterior to the temple, and that it belonged to a more ancient period, it is rude enough to attribute it to the age of Troy itſelf; there is likewiſe a pillar containing a Greek inſcription, a copy of which was taken by Mr. Hope's painter.

From the centre of theſe ruins, the valley of Thymbra is extremely pleaſant, and there is moreover a very fine view of the Plain of Troy, of both the promontories and the Egean ſea.

After ſurveying theſe ruins, about half paſt ten we proceeded on through the Valley of Thymbra to viſit other ruins in that neighbourhood, our route lay up the valley in a courſe nearly eaſt, but over no regular road, more than a bridle way; the ſmall ſtream of Thymbra, called by the Turks *Thimbrek Sou*, was on our right and beyond it the valley was bounded by the range

of hills called by Homer, Callicolone, which form a part of Mount Ida. In aſſuming this name, I follow Mr. Chevalier, and his Callicolone is ſo truly conſiſtent with the diſpoſition of the country in the deſcription of the Iliad, that there can be no doubt of his correctneſs, it is cloſe to the Simois, for that river in a manner marks the foot of the hill by its courſe. (See Υ. 53.) Ἄλλοτε παρ Σιμόεντι ἐπὶ καλλικολώνῃ. And the hill itſelf riſes in ſuch a manner as to form a ſeat for the Gods on the Trojan ſide, as from an amphitheatre to behold the combat. (Υ. 149.) Pococke has deſcribed ſeveral hills of this ſort in Aſia Minor, that have been completed with ſtone ſeats upon their declivity for this purpoſe, and imagination might eaſily do as much to form this into an amphitheatre for the Gods. A ſecond conſideration alſo ariſes from this proximity of the Simois to Callicolone, which is, that it as manifeſtly proves the Simois to be the eaſtern river, as the mention of the Scamander on the left of the Trojan line (Λ. 498.) proves that ſtream to be the weſtern of the two. Theſe circumſtances ſo fully confirm the general ſyſtem of Mr. Chevalier, that no one who has made his obſervations on the ſpot will eaſily be induced to call it in queſtion.

The valley of Thymbrek, is here about two miles broad, richly cultivated and deſerving the appellation of ἐριβώλαξ, or fertile, and we paſſed through ſeveral pleaſant meadows, in which were a number of willow and other trees. The road now began to narrow and we entered ſome incloſures of vineyards

vineyards and orchards, after paſſing theſe we turned to the ſouthward and entered the bed of a large torrent thickly ſtrewed with ſtones, and of conſiderabe breadth, this torrent deſcends from the north eaſt extremity of Mount Ida, and though now dry, its ſteep and high banks and ſtony bottom atteſted its power in the winter ſeaſon. It was moſt probably one of thoſe auxiliary ſtreams which Homer has ſo correctly mentioned in his 21ſt Iliad to have been called for by Scamander when addreſſing his brother Simois to puniſh the temerity of Achilles.

——————— Haſte my Brother, flood,
And check this mortal that controls a God;
Our braveſt heroes elſe ſhall quit the fight,
And Ilium tumble from her tow'ry height.
Call then thy ſubject ſtreams, and bid them roar,
From all thy fountains fwell thy watry ſtore;
With broken Rocks, and with a load of dead
Charge the black ſurge, and pour it on his head.

POPE.—21ſt. Iliad—line 258.

We ſtill continued our route along the bed of the torrent, and after a delightful ride of four miles, reached and repoſed in a grove of ſtately fir trees at the upper extremity of the valley of Thymbra, and ſituated in a moſt romantic ſolitude. The centre of this grove was formerly a temple of ſuperb and beautiful architecture of the Doric order, which appears from the numerous fragments of columns, capitals and pedeſtals of the fineſt Parian mar-

ble, I likewiſe picked up and brought away with me, a ſmall block of very fine alabaſter.

We could not learn by any lights we had with us what was the nature or deſign of this temple, but it was moſt probably dedicated or ſome ſylvan divinity; certainly no place could be ſelected or better calculated to excite devotion or produce tranquillity of mind. It is about one mile diſtant from the village of Thimbreck, and is called by the natives, THIMBRECK MUZARLICK; or, Cemetery of Thymbra.

After halting about two hours in this grove, we renewed our journey to the ſouth eaſt, until we found ourſelves entangled in the mountain, when tracing back our footſteps part of the way we came, and turning off at about half the diſtance, croſſed the range of the Callicolone hills in a direction due ſouth, and aſcended to the ſummit of one of the higheſt, from whence we had a magnificent view of five ſucceſſive tumuli, the Plain of Troy, the Helleſpont, the Egean ſea, the tumulus of Æſyetes, and the iſland of Tenedos. We proceeded over this elevated ground, and a rugged uncultivated country, conſiſting alternately of hill and vale and anſwering perfectly Homer's deſcription of "the heights of Ida, many valed, and thickly covered with wood." At 5 P. M. we reached the village of Atch Keoi, about ſeven miles to the ſouthward of Thimbreck Muzarlick. On our approach to this village which ſtands on a commanding eminence, we had a fine view of the Plain of Troy beneath, rich and abundantly

bundantly fertile, with a diſtinct view of Bunarbaſhi on the oppoſite heights. In the village we ſaw two columns of grey granite of an order unknown and very ancient.

The houſes in the Troad are built of mud walls with flat roofs and have a ſingular appearance, on ſome of theſe a number of ſtorks had taken up their abode undiſturbed by the proprietors, who have a great veneration for them. On one of theſe roofs in particular were nine birds, and Mr. Hope humouroufly obſerved to me there appeared more birds than men in the village, which certainly was not populous. Leaving *Atch Keoi*, we turned to the weſtward, and at about half a mile from the village, diſcovered a tumulus which I do not recollect to have heard mentioned by any former traveller; it bore the name of *Anai Tepe*, which in Turkiſh ſignifies the hill of ſtone, though no conjecture could be formed of its deſign, it being near three miles from Troy.

The form was like the reſt, circular, but flat at the top; the river Simois ran to the ſouth weſt. We then deſcended into the valley and croſſed the Simois by a ford. The river was here ſufficiently broad to be reſpectable, and we were ſurprized to find ſo much water in it, after we had read Mr. Dallaway's account, though in the middle of ſummer (21ſt June) it was at leaſt two hundred and fifty yards in breadth, its current rapid, though muddy, and its bed on either ſide extended to above half a mile.

After paſſing the river, we ſoon came in ſight of the village of Bunarbaſhi, and aſcending the heights of Troy, took up our quarters

quarters in the houſe of the *Agha, and poſſibly on the ſite of the palace of old Priam, having accompliſhed this day a pleaſant, and to us, highly intereſting journey, by a circuitous route of about twenty Britiſh miles.

The modern village of Bunarbaſhi, and ſite of ancient Troy, is ſituated on an eminence at the upper part of the plain, and riſes gradually from the ſources of the Scamander, at the diſtance of half a mile. If a traveller be deſirous of viewing to advantage, the ſituation of ancient Troy, he will place himſelf midway, betwixt the ſprings, and the city, and near to where formerly ſtood the Scæan gate. The city of Troy, appears to have been bounded on the eaſt and ſouth, by Mount Ida, and north and weſt, by the Simois, and the plain. From behind the village of Bunarbaſhi the hills riſe gradually, and at the diſtance of two miles from the agha's houſe are terminated by the lofty ſtations of the tomb of Hector, and other high ground.

It is here that the appellation of Ιλιον πνειόεσσαν, or *wind ſwept Ilium*, occurs to the mind of the ſpectator in full force and when the Levanters blow, the flurries coming over the broken ridges of Ida, muſt here be experienced in their utmoſt violence. Placed on this eminence, it requires no great ſtretch of imagination, to bring in review, the tranſactions of the war, and the fate of Ilium, as ſung by the divine bard.

The ſeveral barrows are all in view, all in the poſitions they

* A Turkiſh deputy who acts under the Paſha of the diſtrict.

ought

ought to occupy, and as they impreſſed on my own mind with ſo full a conviction, as not to leave the ſmalleſt doubt remaining, but that I ſtood on the very ſite of Troy, or near it, ſo I cannot think it poſſible, that any one can perſonally view, the evidence afforded by the diſpoſition of the country round, and theſe monuments in particular, without complete ſatisfaction in his mind, that Homer deſcribed this ſcene from characters that are indelible. Barrows it is true are common to other countries, but that we ſhould have a riſing ground for the poſition of the city, a plain ſuited to the conflicts of the armies, ſweeping down to the Helleſpont, two rivers, one on each ſide this plain, joining at no great diſtance from the ſea, added to the different barrows, all in the very places where they ought to be, cannot be the effect of chance, and are circumſtances ſo various, that no country could produce them all, unleſs it were the very ſpot deſigned. Had I ever been ſo ſceptical, (and doubts I certainly had,) I could not ſee two barrows one large, and one ſmaller at Sigæum, without confeſſing that ſuch they ought to be according to the Iliad, and ſuch their place. I could not ſee the Rhœteum marked by another barrow, without reflecting that Ajax was encamped on the left of the line, and that on the left he ought to have been buried. I could not view the barrow of Æſyetes, marked out by Strabo, and fixed at the moſt advantageous point for reconnoitring, without recalling the aſſignment made of it by Homer to this purpoſe: but above all this, when I ſaw the barrow of Hector at the back of Troy, ſtill

marked

marked by the pile of ſtones, which Homer allots to this, and this only, I could not help thanking Mr. Morrit for pointing out this peculiarity to my notice, and I muſt add my teſtimony to his, that ſuch is the fact, the ſtones are piled as his drawing repreſents them, and their appearance is not exaggerated. Now that all theſe circumſtances ſhould be united in the ſpace of a few miles by accident, and that they ſhould all correſpond with Homer, is beyond the power of calculation, if the fact were not true; no other ſpot in the world could be accommodated to the deſcription, or anſwer to the particulars required, and if this ſpot does anſwer with ſo much preciſion, both generally and ſpecially, here and no where elſe muſt we look for Troy.

I viewed the tomb of Hector, not without reflection on the honours paid to an hero, at his funeral obſequies, by the people he had defended, and the army he had commanded: I viewed the memorial raiſed over his remains, not only as an incitement to valour, but as a tribute of gratitude, as perpetual as the exiſtence of the ground it ſtands on; and I reverted from theſe teſtimonies of his glory, to the character of the man. In ſpite of the gallantry of the Grecian heroes, the fire of Diomed, or the direful vengeance of Achilles, who is there that does not join with Troy, in lamenting the death of the brave and amiable Hector? there is ſomething ſo mild, ſo liberal, and gentle in the manners of this chief, that a reader is always more intereſted in his fate, than that of any other perſonage in the Iliad, and after his death we find the ſorrow univerſal. The

grief

grief of a mother, a wife, or a father, is natural and expected, but there is ſomething ſo intereſting, in the ſorrow expreſſed by *Helen*, (the dreadful cauſe of the war,) after the return of the dead body of Hector, that I cannot reſiſt tranſcribing it, as equally ſtriking for the delineation of character, as for the delicacy and beauty of the ſentiment.

Viewing the corpſe, *Helen* thus pours forth her lamentations.

" Ah dearer far than all my brothers elſe
" Of Priam's houſe, for being Paris' ſpouſe
" Who brought me (wou'd I firſt had died) to Troy,
" I call thy brothers mine; ſince forth I came
" From Sparta, it is now the twentieth year;
" Yet never heard I one hard ſpeech from thee
" Or taunt moroſe, but if it ever chanc'd
" That of thy father's houſe, female or male
" Blamed me, and even if herſelf the Queen,
" For in the King whate'er befel I found
" Always a father, *thou haſt interpoſed*
" *Thy gentle temper, and thy gentle ſpeech*
" *To ſooth them*; therefore, with the ſame ſad drops
" Thy fate, O Hector, and my own I weep,
" For other friend within the ample bounds
" Of Ilium have I none, nor hope to hear
" Kind word again, with horror view'd by all."

24th Book, page 666. COWPER.

As the barrow of this hero, ought to differ from all the others in the Troad, from the very circumſtance noticed in Homer.

——————————— Α'ΤΤΑ'Ρ 'ΥΠΕΡΘΕ
ΠΥΚΝΟ'ΙΣΙΝ ΛΑ'ΕΣΣΙ ΚΑΤΕΣΤΟ'ΡΕΣΑΝ ΜΕΓΑ'ΛΟΙΣΙ.
Ω 797.

ſo was I happy to find, that the ravages of curioſity or avarice, had not deprived it of the characteriſtic which is peculiar to it; it has been opened in ſeveral places, particularly on the north ſide, next the *Simois*, which runs at the foot of the hill, in a winding direction, and is loſt among the mountains behind.

Book 24, Iliad.

" All then their mules and oxen to the wains
" Join ſpeedily, and under Ilium's walls
" Aſſemble numerous; nine whole days they toiled
" Bringing much fuel home, and when the tenth,
" Bright morn with light for human kind aroſe,
" Then bearing noble Hector forth, with tears
" Shed copious, on the ſummit of the pile
" They placed him, and the fuel fired beneath:
" But when Aurora, daughter of the dawn
" Reddened the eaſt, then thronging forth all Troy
" Encompaſs'd noble Hector's pile around,
" The whole vaſt multitude conven'd; with wine
" They quench'd the pile throughout, leaving no part
" Unviſited on which the fire had ſeized.
" His brothers next collected, and his friends
" His white bones mourning and with tears profuſe
" Welt'ring their cheeks, then in a golden urn
" They plac'd them, which with mantles ſoft they veil'd
" Mæonian hued and delving buried it,
" AND OVERSPREAD WITH STONES, THE SPOT ADUST;"

Adjoining

Adjoining to the tomb of Hector, is another barrow of a ſmaller, ſize coeval perhaps, and formed of accumulated earth, but no ſtones; it is ſuppoſed to be that of Priam, but as we have no certain account of the funeral of the venerable king, we cannot identify it like that of his ſon.

A mile diſtant from this, and upon a correſponding hill to the ſouthward, is another tumulus, called by the natives *Upſhun Tepe*, which compleats the *fourth* tumulus between that and the village of *Atch Keui*, and not *three*, as has been repreſented through miſtake; it is not impoſſible but the laſt barrow may be that of Paris, as we learn from Ariſtotle that he was buried *near** Troy, before the capture of that city.

At no great diſtance from the tomb of Hector, (which it overlooks) is the Acropolis, the Περγάμος ἄχρη the *Arx Alta*, or lofty citadel of Priam, which ſo long bid defiance to the united efforts of Greece, and which was at laſt ſubdued by ſtratagem. No ſituation could be better ſelected than this for the defence and ſecurity of Troy, it is as Mr. Morrit moſt correctly remarks, "a pointed and high hill riſing to the ſouth eaſt of Troy, "terminated on three ſides by high rocks, and the Simois rolls at "the foot of theſe under a row of equally ſtupendous precipices

* Paris was not buried in Troy, neither do I think Hector was, though Chevalier is of a different opinion, if *within* the walls, why aſk leave of the Greeks to bury him? the tumulus which I have here aſcribed to Paris, is out of the city.

" on the oppoſite ſide." But the advantages of the Acropolis are not perceived ſufficiently on the approach from Bunarbaſhi, for this purpoſe it is neceſſary to make a detour round the hill to the north eaſt, and to take your ſtation in a corn field on the banks of the Simois, near the foot of the rock; there you may perceive a tremendous precipice, riſing abruptly to the height of four hundred feet, at the bottom of which runs the Simois, whoſe ſtream is rapid and the bed thickly ſtrewn with ſtones. A fortreſs built in modern times on this rock, would doubtleſs be extremely formidable, what then muſt it have been in a rude and early age, when the art of war was in its infancy and tactics altogether unknown?

After inſpecting the poſition of the Acropolis, what can be more ſatisfactory than again recurring to Homer, and fixing its ſituation *beyond all doubt*. In the 8th book of the Odyſſey we find a circumſtantial detail of the conſultations among the Trojan chiefs reſpecting the fate of the *Epean* horſe, the cauſe of all their woe, it is given by Demodocus the bard, who ſings the fall of Troy divine, to the wanderer Ulyſſes then unknown.

" Already in the horſe concealed his band
" Around, Ulyſſes ſat, for Ilium's ſons
" Themſelves had drawn it to the citadel,
" And there the miſchief ſtood, then ſtrife aroſe
" Among the Trojans compaſſing the horſe;

" And

" And threefold was the doubt, whether to cleave
" The hollow trunk aſunder, or, *up drawn*
" *Aloft, to caſt it headlong from the rocks*;*
" Or to permit th' enormous image kept,
" Entire to ſtand an offering to the Gods.

COWPER.

Excluſive of the Acropolis we learn that there were other buildings and temples erected on the ſummit of this hill, particularly one to Jupiter, and another to Minerva, to whoſe ſhrine the Trojan matrons went in proceſſion at the inſtance of Hector, when the army was hard preſſed by the enemy as may be ſeen in the 6th Iliad.

The extent of the ground on the top of the hill juſtifies the ſuppoſition. Mr. Hope and myſelf having with conſiderable difficulty ſcrambled up that part of the ſteep which faces the north eaſt; on our reaching the ſummit found a prodigious quantity both of ſtone and fine Parian marble ſcattered over a large ſpace, and in one particular ſpot we traced what appeared to have been the ſite of a temple† in form of an oblong ſquare, I ſhall

* That is, to the extreme edge of the precipice where the reader will perceive the fate that awaited it.

† Not to ſpeak too poſitively, I ſubmit the whole of this conjecture to the candour of the reader, and the examination of future travellers; but if this hill ſhould be finally determined to be the citadel, I muſt affirm that there are *ruins* of Troy, however common the opinion may be, that *even the ruins have periſhed*. I can find no town in later ages between this hill to the junction of the two rivers, but the modern Ilium of Strabo, and if the ancient Ilium or Troy muſt be in the plain, ἐν πεδίῳ πεπολισμένῃ πόλις. If ſo I think

I ſhall conclude the account of the Acropolis by hazarding a conjecture not entirely inapplicable to the ſubject, as it regards the difference of the Acropolis from the other parts of the city. In many parts of Aſia, but particularly in the Eaſt Indies, it is cuſtomary to have the town or city divided into two parts, the one of which the citadel (if the ſituation of the country will admit of it) is always built upon a hill, or on the higheſt ground they can ſelect, the other or lower town, which contains the greater part of the inhabitants, is called the PETTAH, and conſidered in the light of an outwork; it is very conſonant to reaſon therefore to allow the poſſibility of Patroclus's attempt *upon the outer wall of the city*, which was below on the plain, or at leaſt upon a ſloping acclivity; thoſe who have ſeen the hill forts of Myſore, and many parts of the Dekkan, and will compare them with the Acropolis of Troy, may eaſily account for the labour of a ten years ſiege, or allow the appellation of the epithet of walls built by the gods themſelves, not to have been exaggerated.

The idea entertained by many perſons that there are no re-

I think I ſhould ſay that theſe are the remains of Dardania, prior to Ilium and Troy, in the ὑπωρέια, of Ida, but as far as a private opinion is of weight, I am inclined to think, that the conjecture I have adopted, reconciles both aſſertions of Homer; that the city or pettah was in the plain, and that the citadel was on a precipice, very lofty and expoſed to all the winds and ſtorms that burſt on Ida. This the language of the poet in different places requires, and this we obtain by placing the city on the ground that riſes to Bunarbaſhi, or by extending it to the Plain.

mains

mains of a city on the ſite of Troy, or that the ruins themſelves have periſhed is not altogether well founded; on the contrary about the Acropolis, and the environs of the city, they certainly are to be found; at Bunarbaſhi in the *Aga*'s houſe and in the village below, are many large blocks of marble, columns of red and grey granite, and capitals of columns, one of which we found in the ſtable of the Aga's court yard, it appeared to have formed part of a pillar of a temple of Jupiter, from the device of an *eagle* which it contained, and may have been brought hither from ſome of the temples in the neighbourhood, as its capital which is Ionick precludes us from aſſigning it to remote antiquity. But on the hill of Bunarbaſhi is an immenſe block of very coarſe marble, with ſome devices rudely executed, particularly the head of a cypreſs tree, it looks as if it had belonged to a fountain and is rude enough for any age.

In a cottage near the ſources of Scamander, we found a piece of marble about two feet high, no doubt of great antiquity, it had the figure of a warrior, well executed in *alto relievo*; of this figure Mr. Hope's painter took a drawing, and we regretted much that its ſize prevented our getting it on board our ſhip. On ſurveying the ground, many other circumſtances occurred to prove the former exiſtence of a city, and if ſo, certainly that of Troy: with reſpect to the ſize of it, many authors and travellers have differed, but acknowledging the probability of its having occupied the ſpace allotted to it in the ſubjoined map, I ſhould not

think

think it could contain leſs than forty or fifty thouſand* inhabitants, either citizens or allies, and indeed leſs could not be given to the capital of a prince, who contended for ten years againſt the united force of Greece, and who had either in alliance or ſubjection† the whole of Aſia Minor. If however the very great length of time which has elapſed ſince the Trojan war be conſidered, and the numerous changes that have happened in much leſs time in various parts of the globe, (in ſome cities even to utter annihilation,) be taken into the ſcale, our ſurprize and admiration will be excited not that we have not more, but that ſo much is ſtill pre-

* If with Thucydides we eſtimate the Greek army at an hundred and twenty thouſand men, the Trojans, according to Homer's eſtimate of one to ten, would amount to twelve thouſand citizens in arms, beſides the other native inhabitants, and we ought certainly to eſtimate the allies at far more than double that number.

† The kingdom of Priam according to Homer, extended along the coaſt from the greater Phrygia to Leſbos. (Ω. 543) inland it is undefined, it ſeems to have riſen from ſome tribe of plunderers inhabiting the highlands of Ida, which firſt built Dardania, (Υ. 216.) on the ſkirts of the mountains, and afterwards as they acquired power, approached the coaſt, and built Troy on the plain, thus Dardania is the city of Dardanus, Ilios as Homer uſes it, the city of Ilus. Troie (Τροίη) the city of Tros. (Υ. 230) all built by the reſpective ſovereigns. Plunderers of this ſort ſtill infeſt Ida, and the Aſiatic Olympus, and if Aſia were again without a great imperial power like that of the Othman's, any one of theſe tribes might extend its influence from the heights to the plain.

At the preſent day in ſome parts of Romelia and Bulgaria the roads are infeſted by troops of banditti, who defy the Turkiſh government, ſome of theſe we paſſed through during the journey of the late military miſſion to Turkey, but ſeeing us well prepared and numerous, they did not think proper to attack us. Their receſſes are in mount Hæmus, and though when taken the puniſhment is inſtant and terrible, yet it does not deter them from the commiſſion of ſimilar enormities. They lately plundered the princeſs of Walachia, and detained her and her ſuite for ſeveral days.

ſerved.

ſerved. If Troy could ſurvive the ravages of Greece in the hour of victory, and incenſed by the vexatious delays of ſo long a ſiege, and the blood of ſo many thouſands of her ſons, it is ſtill more extraordinary that any remains ſhould have ſurvived the direful effects of Turkiſh rapine, and bigotted ſuperſtition.

Bis vetus everſum eſt Argivis Ilion armis,
Bis nova victores Græcia luget avos;
Maxima Trojanos retulit cum Roma nepotes
Atque iterum imperium cum modo Turcus habet.
SCALIGER.

Having reſolved to explore Mount Ida, and aſcend to Gargarus, its ſummit, or rather the higheſt of its hills, we ſet off on the 22d about five in the morning. We croſſed the Simois at a ford about two miles from the village, and by an eaſterly courſe proceeded to the foot of Gargarus, about a mile diſtant from the ford; on reaching the mountain we found it much ſteeper than we imagined, and its height from the level of the plain may be ſomething more than two miles, the firſt part of which was by a moderate aſcent, but the latter rugged and difficult of acceſs. It is divided into three parts or halting places, the intermediate ſpaces being covered with low oak and other trees. After having arrived at the ſummit, you diſcover what had not been viſible from the plain below, an ample platform or table-land of a circular form and 460 feet in circumference, and where no doubt

ſtood the fane and altar of Jupiter the Deliverer. On caſting the eye around from this ſummit, the view is magnificent and extenſive, to the right are ſeen the highlands over the Dardanelles and commencement of the Helleſpont; on the left, the iſland and caſtle of Tenedos; In the plain below, every circumſtance as deſcribed by Homer is minutely recognized; the city and towers of Ilium below our feet, the ſources of Scamander, the rich and fertile plain of Troy watered by the Simois and the Scamander whoſe ſight is obſcured by its deep and ſedgy banks, the barrow of Æſyetes, the Sigæan and Rhœtean promontories, and the ſituation of the Grecian fleet, preſent a ſucceſſion of pleaſing and intereſting objects, while the picture is bounded with a double view of the Helleſpont and Ægean ſea, and the iſlands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothracia. In ſhort nothing is wanting to complete the ſcene, and the enthuſiaſm of the moment is perhaps excuſable when the exulting traveller ſhall exclaim, "Troy exiſts."

When we were upon this ſpot, we had Homer and the work of Morritt in our hands, we examined the poet by the comment, and could not refrain from giving our teſtimony to the fidelity of both. Gargarus is a ſummit that not only overlooks all that Homer aſſigns to the proſpect, but is really the higheſt point of the whole ridge, and commands a view to the north and ſouth weſt, and when we figured to our imagination, Jupiter ſitting here, and Neptune watching his motions from the heights of Samothrace, with the Plain of Troy between them, we felt from the

the ſublimity of the poet, the ſuperiority of their rank, as clearly as the ſubordinate ſituation of the other deities, when one party ſat on Callicolone, and the other on the retrenchment of Hercules to contemplate the re-appearance of Achilles in the field. I have heard ſince my return, that Mr. Morritt's aſſumption of this height for the Gargarus of the poet, has been doubted, and that his meaſures from Lectum have been ſuppoſed to be erroneouſly taken from the diſtance between Lectum and the city of Gargarus rather than the mount. This is a queſtion I cannot enter into, but Homer deſcribes Gargarus as the higheſt point of Ida, and ſuch was the ſummit on which we ſtood; the view we had to the weſt was alſo correſpondent with the deſcription of the poet, and the view we took to the north was acroſs the Helleſpont into Thrace, and might well be extended to the Glactophagi, Hippemolgi and Tartar tribes (in that age) on the Danube, if we had had the ſame powers of viſion as the deity is endowed with in the poem.

One doubt I muſt confeſs aroſe in our mind, which was that we could not trace the Scamander from its ſource, but the reaſon of this will appear in the following pages, when we ſhall be on the banks of the ſtream itſelf.

To confirm the topographical correctneſs of Homer, I ſhall produce two inſtances the firſt from the 14th Iliad, and the ſecond from the 8th Iliad, in regard to the direction of Lemnos from Ida, which place the father of the gods on his own

proper Gargarus, and may tend to corroborate the imperfect deſcription, which I have above attempted. Firſt, as to the courſe of *Juno and Sleep*,

" Together forth they went, Lemnos they left
" And Imbros city of Thrace, and in dark clouds
" Mantled, with gliding car ſwam though the air
" To *Ida's Mount*, with rilling waters veined,
" Parent of ſavage beaſts; at *Lectos* firſt
" They quitted Ocean, over paſſing high
" The dry land, while beneath their feet the woods
" Their ſpiry ſummits waved."*

COWPER.

In the energetic but ſimple language of Homer, I ſhall now place Jupiter on his fane on the ſummit of Gargarus.

" To ſpring fed Ida, mother of wild beaſts
" He came, *where ſtands in Gargarus his ſhrine*;
" Arriving looſed his courſers, and around
" Involving them in gather'd clouds opaque,
" Sat on the mountains head, *in his own might*
" *Exulting with the towers of Ilium all*
" *Beneath his eye, and the whole fleet of Greece.*"

COWPER—Book 8, line 190.

* Mr. Morritt in his admirable vindication of Homer ſays, " on the 6th of November 1794, I arrived from Leſbos at the ſouthern part of Ida, in company with other Engliſhmen. We landed about twenty miles below *Lectum*, now cape Baba in the Sinus Adramettus. The mountains riſe gradually from the promontory of Lectum in long ridges, which unite on the right in a high ſummit the ancient Gargarus." *Is not this the courſe of Juno?*

Though

Though not entirely applicable to the preſent ſubject, I cannot refrain from giving another paſſage which I found in the Iliad, and which I ſuſpect our own great poet to have had in view when he wrote his *Paradiſe Loſt*. It relates to the arts made uſe of by Juno to deceive the vigilance of the father of the gods, and permit her favorite Greeks to obtain ſome advantage. Being on the ſummit of Ida, I could not conceive a better opportunity for inſerting it.

" Beneath them earth
" With ſudden herbage, teem'd, at once upſprung
" The crocus ſoft, the lotus bathed in dew,
" And the criſp hyacinth with cluſt'ring bells;
" Thick was their growth, and high above the ground
" Upbore them; on that flowery couch they lay,
" Inveſted with a golden cloud that ſhed
" Bright dew drops all around."

COWPER—Book 14, line 372.

Among the many excellencies obſerved in Homer, his epithets are not the leaſt to be admired. His πολυπίδακος Ἴδης ſpring fed Ida, is particularly appoſite; during our tour of two days from entering the Callicolone or chain of hills that conſtitute Mount Ida, until we paſſed Troy to the ſouth weſt, we found among the hills the beds of ſeveral torrents, but there are ſtill many more, as the Granicus, Æſepus, Rhodius, and other rivers, which all take their riſe either from Mount Ida, or the hills behind it.

From

From the torrents which come down from Ida, and join the waters of the Simois, it muſt be a formidable ſtream in the winter ſeaſon; the chain of mountains compoſing Ida, are not in general remarkably high, but are abundantly well furniſhed with wood, which ſupplies the Troad with fuel, as in former times. This chain which commences from the province of Myſia to the north, is continued in a direction ſouth and ſouth weſterly, until it is terminated by the promontory of Lectum in the Egean ſea and from its many feet or projecting points, has been compared to the *Scolopendra*; or, hairy worm, called centipes,* moſt of the hills have fragments of ſtone and rock, but on Gargarus is found a vaſt quantity of marble, or rather of rock, marble, veined.

In the neighbourhood of *Alexandria Troas*, are quarries of very fine granite, from which moſt of the relicks found in the *Troad* have been produced. After an intellectural feaſt of three hours, we quitted with regret the intereſting proſpect, and returned to Bunarbaſhi.

DESCENDING from the heights of Gargarus, a traveller is naturally led to viſit and examine the ſources of the famed Scamander or Xanthus of Homer; At the foot of the hill, on which ſtood the

* It is remarkable that Homer uſes the term Πόδες, which poſſibly ſupplied the geographers with the idea of the Scolopendra.

Πάντες δ' ἱσσοίατο ΠΟΔΕΣ πολυπίδακος Ἴδης.

Υ. 59.

Acropolis

Acropolis about two miles diſtant and near the modern village of Bunarbaſhi, under the ſhade of ſome willows riſes the hot or firſt ſource of Scamander; the approach to it is by a road paved with large ſtones, and appears very ancient.

The fountain is about eight feet broad, the water beautifully clear and limpid, ſtrongly marking the ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ of Homer, riſing from a bed of the fineſt ſand imaginable; large ſlabs of Parian marble have been thrown acroſs the mouth or ciſtern, in which as in times of old, the dames of Troy are ſtill accuſtomed to waſh their garments, and bleach them on the neighbouring bank of beautiful verdure.

At no great diſtance from the firſt, is the ſecond or cold ſpring, much broader but ſhallow, it riſes from the foot of a low hill, covered entirely with rocks, from which the water guſhes through numberleſs crevices, bubbling and trilling in pleaſing murmurs.

By the modern Turks the Scamander is here termed, *Kirk Geous Sou*; or, the river with forty eyes, evidently from the guſhing out of its waters as above deſcribed.

In the neighbourhood is found a very great quantity of marble but of inferior quality, of which no doubt were made thoſe canals ſo particularly deſcribed by Homer, but which at preſent do not exiſt, though at both the fountains the Turkiſh women ſtill waſh their garments and perform ablutions. At this preſent time (June) both the ſprings were perfectly cold, but we

were

were aſſured by the natives that the water of the firſt was in the winter months always hot and emitted a ſteam, but that the ſecond was always cold, both in winter and ſummer: an aſſertion which we find corroborated by the ſucceſſive teſtimonies of various travellers, but particularly Chevalier, Morritt, Dallaway. But Homer muſt now as in other inſtances appear himſelf, and deſcribe the *characteriſtics* of theſe celebrated fountains which a lapſe of three thouſand years have not been able to obliterate; it is thus the poet when verging to the concluſion of the Iliad and the fate of Hector, deſcribes the ſources of the Scamander.

> Next by Scamander's double ſource they bound,
> Where two fam'd fountains burſt the parted ground,
> This hot through ſcorching clefts is ſeen to riſe,
> With exhalations ſteaming to the ſkies,
> That the green banks in ſummer's heat, o'erflows
> Like chryſtal clear, and cold as winter ſnows;
> Each guſhing fount, a marble ciſtern fills
> Whoſe poliſh'd bed receives the falling rills;
> Where Trojan dames, (e're yet alarmed by Greece,)
> Waſh'd their fair garments in the days of peace.
>
> POPE—Book 22, line 195.

In the neighbourhood of theſe ſprings the country is uncommonly beautiful, many of the inhabitants have, built their cottages on the banks of the river, which flows in a clear perennial ſtream

ſtream through gardens laid out in pleaſant walks, and arbours covered with grape vines; plantations of walnut, poplar, and ſycamores are alſo ſeen, and an abundant variety of fruit trees, render theſe gardens a moſt charming retreat from the heats of ſummer. The banks of the Scamander being deeply embowered with ſedge, and marſh-mallows, conceal the water from the ſight.

At a cottage near the ſecond ſource, is to be ſeen a block of marble, about three feet in height, on which is ſculptured in *relievo* the figure of a warrior, well executed. Near Troy though ſo early in the ſeaſon as the twenty third of June, the harveſt was nearly gathered in, and what appears to Europeans extremely ſingular, the female reapers, wore ſtraw hats to defend their faces from the ſun.

During our ſtay at Bunarbaſhi, and indeed throughout the Troad, we were received with great politeneſs and hoſpitality. In the country, the Turks ſeem to have forgotten that ſupercilious air of pride and hauteur, which prevails among their brethern at the capital; all here ſeemed deſirous of giving us a kind reception and accommodation, the hoſpitable Aga of the diſtrict was himſelf at Conſtantinople, but the attention paid to us by his family, gave no cauſe to regret his abſence, to whoſe profuſe liberality, in a conſtant and ample ſupply of proviſions, there ſeemed to be no bounds.

It was here for the firſt time, we had an opportunity of obſerving the carts of the *Troad*, which forcibly reminded us of the *war chariots* of Homer, both in their appearance, and conſtruction.

Dr. Chandler, whoſe intereſting travels in Aſia Minor, afford a rich fund of entertainment, both for the antiquarian and man of obſervation, thus deſcribes them.

Standing on the Sigæan promontory, now cape * Yeni Cheir Janiſſary, which overlooks the Plain of Troy, the Dr. remarks, " a long train of low carriages reſembling ancient cars, were then " coming as it were in proceſſion, from Mount Ida, each was " wreathed round with wicker work, had two low wheels, and " conveyed a nodding load of green wood, which was drawn " through the duſty plain by yoked oxen or buffaloes, with a " ſlow and ſolemn pace, and with an ugly creaking noiſe." Do we not in this deſcription, recal our ideas to the Grecian followers of the camp bringing in wood from Mount Ida for the funeral of Patroclus?

" But Agamemnon as the rites demand
" With mules and waggons ſends a choſen band,
" To load the timber and the pile to rear,
" A charge conſign'd to faithful Merion's care,
" With proper inſtruments they take the road
" Axes to cut, and ropes to ſling the load:
" *Firſt march the heavy mules, ſecurely ſlow,*
" *O'er hills, o'er dales, o'er crags, o'er rocks they go,*
" *Jumping high o'er the ſhrubs of the rough ground,*
" *Rattle the clatt'ring cars, and the ſhock'd axles bound.*"

POPE's Iliad.—Book 23, line 134, et Seq.

* The new village. It is remarkable that Strabo has a *new town* alſo in this neighbourhood, though I think not in the ſame place.

After

After an accurate and pleaſing ſurvey of Troy and its environs, we determined to trace the courſe of Scamander, from its fountains near the city, until its junction with the *Simois* and final diſcharge into the Helleſpont.

We left Bunarbaſhi at four o'clock, on the afternoon of the twenty third, taking our departure from the *cold* or ſecond ſpring; our route lay along the ſkirts of a hill, to the ſouth weſt, at which time the river was clear and limped, and in a direction tolerably ſtrait; on reaching the level plain, it began to meander until we loſt ſight of it, amidſt the ſedges, low ruſhes, marſh-mallow, and tamariſk, that covered its banks.

We could now ſatisfactorily account for our not having ſeen the Scamander, even from the heights of Gargarus, and which Mr. Hope and myſelf, had remarked with no ſmall degree of aſtoniſhment, it being generally imagined that both rivers were to be ſeen, and ſo when the country was in high culture and full of people they probably were, and this we alſo obſerved that wherever we could obtain a ſight of the water, the ſtream was ſtill limpid, pure, and comparatively deep, running in a channel from twelve to twenty feet wide, till we loſt it in a moraſs.

The reaſon was now apparrent, why we did not ſee it from Gargarus, as the brakes and trees, with which its banks were entirely overhung, permitted only an accidental view. We continued our ride over the plain, the whole face of which appeared one entire field of cultivation, it was a perfect level, and I ſhould judge

judge the extent, to be about nine miles in length, from Troy to the ſea, and from three to four miles in breadth; we kept the Simois on our right, from a mile and half to two miles diſtant. Whilſt traverſing the plain, once the theatre of ſo many great and intereſting actions of the war, the mind of an obſervant traveller will naturally be impreſſed with ſenſations of enthuſiaſm; and if the glow of patriotiſm is expected to be felt in the field of Marathon, or the ſpirit of devotion can be raiſed by the venerable ruins of Iona, ſurely ſome ſmall portion of enthuſiaſm is excuſable, in him who viſits the land of Homer.

" ——— *Videbat uti bellantes Pergama circum*
" *Hæc fugerent Graii, premeret Trojana juventus*
" *Hæc Phryges, inſtaret curru criſtatus Achilles.*

For myſelf I could not paſs over this claſſic ground without feeling a ſincere ardour, even with a mind hurt by recent untoward circumſtances, which had occured in the various and capricious turns of my life and perhaps fortunes. After proceeding about four miles from the ſprings, the face of the plain becomes marſhy and overgrown with ruſhes, and is almoſt a moraſs.

We had now loſt ſight of the Scamander altogether, until we reached the ſide of a hill, near the village of Erkes Keoi, where we ſaw it again, flowing in an artificial canal made or opened again about ſixty years ſince, by the famous *Haſſan Baſha Ghazi*, the lord high admiral of Turkey; this canal into which the

the Scamander has been diverted, commences near the village of Erkeſkeoi, and after traverſing a direction due ſouth, it turns a mill and is diſcharged into the Egean ſea, about three miles diſtant. The water of the canal is equally clear with that of the native ſtream itſelf. In the plain below the village we croſſed over a bridge, or rather cauſeway which had been made acroſs the Scamander, occaſioned by the overſpreading of the river that now had loſt itſelf in a moraſs, though its ancient bed was viſible: ſending on our ſervants and baggage into the Chiftelick, we made an excurſion from this place to viſit the tomb of Æſyetes, ſituated three miles to the ſouth eaſt of Erkeſkeoi. This tumulus is on a level in a valley, at the foot of a ridge of hills connected with Mount Ida, and is a monument of the higheſt antiquity in the Troad, having been erected previous to the war; it is called by the Turks Udjuk Tepe, or the *chimney hill*. It is an immenſe mound of earth cloſely beaten, and riſes from the level of the plain, to the height of an hundred and thirty feet, with a circumference of twelve hundred.

From this ſpot Polites one of the ſons of Priam, (whoſe ſtory is ſo pathetically deſcribed in the 2nd Æneid,) was detached in order to reconnoitre the poſition of the Grecian camp, and to obſerve the movements of the army; certainly no ſpot could have been ſelected more appropriate, as it not only commands a perfect view of the Plain of Troy in every direction, but has likewiſe

likewiſe an admirable look out into the Ægean ſea, immediately over againſt the iſland of Tenedos.

" But various Iris, Jove's commands to bear
" Speeds on the wings of wind through liquid air,
" In Priam's porch the Trojan chiefs ſhe found,
" The old conſulting, and the youth around;
" *Polite's ſhape the monarch's ſon ſhe choſe*
" *Who from Æſyetes' tomb obſerved the foes,*
" *High on the mound, from whence in proſpect lay,*
" *The fields, the tents, the navy, and the bay.*

POPE's Iliad.

This tomb we had kept in view, during the whole of our tour, it had been to us a guide, an indelible land mark in aſcertaining the different poſitions in the Troad.* It is viſible from Gargarus, from the Rhœtean and Sigæan promontories, from Thymbrek, and Bunarbaſhi, and has a view itſelf over the whole plain, as well towards the Helleſpont, as the Ægean ſea, and is

* The ſame obſervation may apply to the iſland of *Tenedos*, which is equally conſpicuous from *Troy* and its environs.

" Eſt in conſpectu *Tenedos*, notiſſima famâ
" Inſula, dives opum, Priami dum regna manebant."

VIRG. Æneid, Lib. II.

It has however in one reſpect ſurvived the kingdom of Priam, and at the preſent day, produces ſome of the beſt wine in the Archipelago.

in

in fact the very point where a picket would now be placed, if it were neceſſary to give a ſignal to the city of what was paſſing on the plain. Strabo p. 599, mentions that the barrow allotted to Æſyetes lay on the road leading to Alexandria Troas, which accords with the obſervation of all our modern travellers, but he has a meaſure of five ſtadia, which it is difficult to aſcertain: it riſes however out of the plain, like a truncated cone, and is more peculiarly adapted to the circumſtances required, than any other barrow in the whole country.

The ſetting ſun warned us to deſcend from the ſummit, and repair to our quarters at Erkeſſekeoi; on our return we paſſed two other tumuli ſituated on the ſea ſhore, one of which was called by the natives, Beſhek Tepe, the name of the other we could not learn, though ſome have ſuppoſed theſe two have contained the remains of Peneleus and Proteſilaus. We ſlept that night at the chiftelick, or country houſe of Haſſan Baſha, and on the 24th in the morning, inſpired with the hope of finding the Scamander, or at leaſt its bed which we had loſt on the preceding day we proceeded to our enquiry; about half a mile north of the village we fell in with the bed, and preſently after with the river itſelf, which had very little water in it. By inſpection of the map of the Troad as given by Mr. Morritt in his admirable defence of Homer, I have to obſerve, that though correct in other reſpects, he certainly failed in the inſtance of tracing the courſe of Scamander. He proceeded in a direction north and

by

by eaſt, and continued his route, over what he calls *Palæ Scamander*, and looked no further for the bed of the river. If Mr. Morritt has followed Chevalier in the conſtruction of his map, they are certainly both in an error, as I ſhall proceed to ſhew in the map ſubjoined which was made by Mr. Hope on the ſpot after proſecuting our ſearch for the Scamander with ſucceſsful diligence. From the place above mentioned, we followed the river, in a courſe north by weſt for about two miles, its banks as in the upper part of the plain were overgrown with marſh myrtles, tamariſks, and the country on both ſides a moraſs, which in the winter ſeaſon muſt be impaſſable, and which Mr. Chevalier or or Morritt could not have penetrated: the bed of the river was frequently dry, yet ſtill retained its original character, the breadth being from twelve to twenty feet; whilſt mentioning the breadth of the river at this part of the plain I conceive a paſſage from Homer will ſerve ſtill further to illuſtrate the accuracy of the poet's general deſcription; it relates to the conteſt of the river Scamander with Achilles, whilſt that hero was committing ſuch terrible devaſtation among the flying Trojans; that the preſent actual ſituation of the bed of the river ſhould coincide in ſo exact a manner is really ſurpriſing, but the fact is certain.

" On the border ſtood
" A ſpreading elm, that overhung the flood;
" He ſeiz'd a bending bough, his ſteps to ſtay;
" The plant uprooted to his weight gave way,

" Heaving

" Heaving the bank, and undermining all;
" Loud flaſh the waters to the ruſhing fall
" Of the thick foliage. The large trunk diſplayed,
" Bridg'd the rough flood acroſs: The hero ſtay'd
" On this his weight, and rais'd upon his hand,
" Leap'd from the channel, and regain'd the land.

POPE's Iliad.—Book 21ſt.

I cannot help introducing in this place, a moſt ingenious remark of Mr. Blackwell, in his enquiry into the life and writings of Homer about forty years ſince, and from which it would appear he had actually viſited the ſpot, for, if we except the wild fig tree and the tomb of Dardanus, we ſhall obſerve the Plain of Troy, as it exiſts at the preſent day: ſpeaking of Homer's geographical accuracy, he obſerves, " The firſt which preſents itſelf, " is, that he muſt have been acquainted with the field of action, " the Plain of Troy. It was this enabled him to deſcribe it ſo " minutely; and gives it that air of veracity it bears from thoſe " natural incidents he has thrown into his narration. He had " them, not by reading or ſpeculation, but from the places themſelves, and the proſpects that ariſe from the culture and diſpoſition of the grounds. Who but the man that had viewed the " *bendings of the coaſt*, and every corner of the fields, could " have deſcribed or feigned the genuine marks of it: the tomb " of Dardanus, the ſprings of Scamander, the banks of Simois, " the beach tree, with many other circumſtances, that diſtinguiſh " the environs, and enrich his landſkip?

We now loſt ſight of the bed again for a ſhort time, but on ſearching perceived it had ſunk into a marſhy ground to the north eaſt, though our guides informed us we ſhould fall in within another branch more to the weſtward; we croſſed over the moraſs, and proceeding north and by weſt, again diſcovered the river about a mile diſtant from whence it diſappeared, the bed lies in the ſame ſtate as before. Future travellers may recognize the ſpot, by obſerving and aſcending a ſmall round hill as marked in the map, which places the ſea to the weſtward and at the foot of which the river runs; here the Scamander is as broad as many parts of the Simois, and might well have anſwered to the appellation given by Homer, of Καθυδινῆες deep and full of eddies, or επ' ἠιόσι Σκαμανδρῳ, the Scamander with a broad margin.

From this eminence we beheld the Simois about a mile diſtant approaching to its junction with the Scamander, the ſtream broad and rapid; our ſatisfaction at this diſcovery was enhanced by the pleaſing and honeſt recollection, that we had attained a point given up by other travellers, who ſuppoſed the Scamander did not exiſt beyond the canal of Haſſan Baſha, which Mr. Morritt calls the Amnis Navigabilis of Pliny, or perhaps deceived by their guides,* or reports of the country people, took the matter for granted. Having thus fallen in again with our river, we determined not to quit it, and continued our courſe along its

* I am the more inclined to ſuppoſe the latter to have been the caſe, as we found much difficulty in perſuading our guides to accompany us, who perſiſted in aſſuring us the river was loſt.

banks

banks for about half a mile, when we were again for a few moments *at fault*, but ſoon perceiving the bed, our never failing guide, we rode into it, and with the exception of a very few yards after tracing it about three quarters of a mile further in a direction north and by eaſt, we at length reached its junction with the Simois, broad and flowing rapidly about two miles diſtant from the Sigean promontory, and five from the village of Erkeſſu Keoi in the direction we had followed;* the teſt of their junction to a future traveller will be a ſmall ſtone bridge over the bed of the Scamander, twenty yards from its junction and which obliged us to ride out of the bed and in again at the oppoſite ſide. It is matter worthy of remark, that this famous river ſhould ſtill as in the days of Homer have two names: at its ſource as I have above remarked, it is called *Kirk Geous Su*, or the river with forty eyes, but on its junction with the Simois, which is called by the Turks *Chai Sou*, the *united* ſtreams receive the appellation of *Mendrus*. Aware of the faſcinating attractions of etymology in the inveſtigation of a name, I ſhould heſitate in combining the ancient and modern names at this diſtance of time, yet the application is ſo unſtrained and the ſimiliarity ſo evident, that I think the modern name, *Mendrus*, Scamander, or *Scamandros*, amounts to an almoſt irrefragable document of its having triumphed over time, and of hav-

* It is neceſſary to remark in this place, that the ſubjoined map was made from an *eye view*, and not from actual meaſurement: my fellow traveller Mr. Hope very obligingly favoured me with it, in order to illuſtrate my own ideas on the ſubject.

ing eſtabliſhed the accuracy of Homer.* From hence the Scamander in a courſe nearly north, flows in a broad and rapid ſtream along the plain, ſkirts the weſtern flank of the village of *Koum Kala*, and is finally diſcharged into the Helleſpont about two miles from its junction.

At the mouth of the Scamander is a very conſiderable bar of ſand, which prevents acceſs to veſſels of large burthen, but we were aſſured by the natives, that in the winter ſeaſon the torrents from Ida coming down with violence, diſcharge an immenſe body of freſh water into the ſea, the effect of which is perceived a great way off.

Having thus brought the Scamander from its ſource, under the walls of Troy to its junction with the Simois, and final dicharge into the Helleſpont after a circuitous courſe of twelve miles, I ſhall make a few obſervations on the nature of the ſoil of the Troad. At Bunarbaſhi the Turkiſh ſignification of which is the ſpring or fountain head, the ſoil is rich and ſoft and the earth remarkably fine, lower down, fat and greaſy, in the centre of the plain the earth of the corn fields was of a reddiſh brown, at the loweſt part near the junction of the rivers, the ſoil was of the richeſt black mould

* Iſk, Eſk, Uſk, are terms for rivers in almoſt every region of the world. Bruce found the name in Abyſſinia, and there is an Iſki in Kerman, as well as an Iſca, Eſk, and Uſk in England and Scotland, and if it were allowable to follow an etymology ſo general, I ſhould ſay Iſca-Mendrus was the Scamander, or river Mendrus.

and

and anſwered forcibly to the epithet ſo frequently applied by Homer of Τρόιη ἐριβώλαξ. *The fertile Trojan plain.*

Throughout the Troad we had occaſion to remark that a couple of buffaloes or oxen were ſufficient to draw the plough with eaſe, whereas in the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople, it took twelve or ſometimes fourteen, this can be accounted for only by the nature of the ſoil, *there* it is a hard and ſtiff clay, that of the Troad ſoft and rich mould, the plain was covered with numerous herds of cattle, horſes, oxen and buffaloes.*

On quitting the river, we proceeded to the famous Sigæan promontory now cape Janiſſary, where are to be ſeen, the celebrated Sigæan inſcriptions and other coſtly marbles which have been accurately copied by Chiſhull, Dr. Chandler, and other travellers. Quitting the ſite of the ancient Sigæum, now a Greek village, we proceeded along the promontory on the ſhores of the Helleſpont, at this place fully entitled to the appellation of broad and ſpacious.

At the ſwell of the promontory and juſt as it begins to riſe, is the barrow of Achilles, conſpicuous for its ſize and elevation, afar off at ſea, it is a vaſt mound of earth, heaped up in the form of a cone, the elevation of its eaſtern aſpect is about one hundred and twenty feet, and the circumference ſix hundred, the earth

* The uncommon luxuriance of the harveſt in the neighbourhood of Troy, induced me to gather ſome of the wheat with my own hands, which I brought to England, and preſented to Governor Haſtings. The ear is remarkably fine, and the ſtalk long and bearded ſimilar to that of Kohilcund in the Eaſt Indies.

has

has been uncommonly well beaten, and bids fair to remain as free from the ravages of time, as it has already done, the ſummit of the cone has been ſmoothed off, and contains a ſmall mud building erected by a Mahometan Derviſh, who by a whimſical ſingularity of diſpoſition, has converted the tomb of Achilles, into a repoſitory for his own aſhes, and thoſe of his brethren, two other Muſſulmans already repoſe in the cemetry of Achilles. This barrow as has been already remark'd, was opened a few years ſince, by Signor Gormazino at the inſtance of Count Choiſeul Goufier.

However other perſons may have thought upon the ſubject of the relicts found in this barrow, I ſhall with deference preſume to ſubmit my own opinion, as it aroſe whilſt ſtanding on the ſpot which inclines to credit their being the aſhes of Achilles and Patroclus, and for this reaſon, that if the poſition of the tumulus be eſtabliſhed as I conceive it to be beyond all doubt by the teſtimony of Homer himſelf, why may we not attach equal credit to the diſcoveries made in it?

The funeral of Achilles is detailed by Homer in ſo circumſtantial a manner, and contains moreover ſo curious a picture of the rites of antiquity, that I ſhall beg leave to produce it as an additional inſtance of the accuracy of the great poet, whoſe works afforded us ſo much amuſement, in our progreſs through the Troad.

In the 24th book of the Odyſſey, the ſhade of Agamemnon addreſſes that of Achilles in the following manner:

"Full

" Full ſeventeen days, we day and night deplor'd
" Thy death, both Gods in Heav'n and men below,
" But on the eighteenth day we gave thy corſe
" Its burning, and fat ſheep around thee ſlew
" Numerous, with many a paſtured ox moon horn'd;
" We burn'd thee cloath'd in veſture of the Gods,
" With honey and with oil feeding the flames
" Abundant, while Achaia's heroes arm'd
" Both horſe and foot encompaſſing the pile
" Claſh'd on their ſhields and deaf'ning was the din.
" But when the fires of Vulcan had at length
" Conſum'd thee, at the dawn we ſtored thy bones
" In unguent and in undiluted wine,
" For Thetis gave to us a golden vaſe
" Twin eared, which ſhe profeſsed to have received
" From Bacchus, work divine of Vulcan's hand;
" Within that vaſe, Achilles! treaſured lie,
" Thine and the bones of thy departed friend
" Patroclus, but a ſeparate urn we gave
" To thoſe of brave Antilochus, who moſt
" Of all thy friends at Ilium, ſhared thy love
" And thy reſpect, thy friend Patroclus ſlain.
" *Around both urns we placed a noble pile,*
" *We warriors of the ſacred Argive race,*
" *On a tall promontory ſhooting far*
" *Into the ſpacious Helleſpont, that all*
" *Who live and who ſhall yet be born may view,*
" *Thy record even from the diſtant wave.**

* Ἀμφ' αὐτοῖσι δ' ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμυμόνα Τύμβον
Χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱερὸς ϛρατὸς αἰχμηϯάων

" Ἀκϯὴ

Ἀχ[ῇ] ἐπὶ προχόυσῃ ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ.
Ὡ[ς] κεν ϝηλεφανὴς ἐκ ποντοφιν ἀνδράσιν εἴη
Τοῖς οἳ νῦν γεγάασι καὶ οἳ μετόπισθεν ἔσονται.

Odyſſey, Ω. 80.

Here then at the diſtance of three thouſand years, we have a detail ſo circumſtantial, ſuch a coincidence of facts, and ſo analogous with the recent diſcoveries, that it muſt ſurely amount to conviction: not an item in the above lines but in ſome ſhape or other tends to corroborate and identify the tomb of Achilles, the funeral pile, the reſpect of the army, the vaſe, the ſeparation of the aſhes of Achilles and Patroclus from thoſe of Antilochus, and laſtly the *record* in the erection of a noble pile, ſtill ſpeaking in indelible characters, altogether form a chain of minute circumſtances, which are in my opinion irrefragable, and I muſt confeſs I do not envy the feelings of him who is not convinced.

At no great diſtance from the tomb of Achilles, is that of his friend Patroclus on the beach, it is ſituated in the incloſure of a vineyard on the plain, circular in form, low and flat at the top, it might naturaly be ſuppoſed that the barrow of a perſon ſo highly eſteemed and ſo much beloved as Patroclus was by Achilles, would have been of a larger ſize, but for this we muſt recur to Homer, who will ſolve the difficulty. 1ſt. He was buried*

* Of both theſe barrows a very accurate view has been taken by Mr. Hope's painter, which it is to be hoped that Gentleman will publiſh when he returns to England from his intereſting journey.

on

on the plain, or level of the ſea ſhore, ἐπ' ἀκτῆς as appears from the 23d Iliad, after collecting a ſufficient quantity of wood from Mount Ida, the people returned to the ſea ſide, and there

" Each man his log
" For ſo the armour bearer of the king
" Of Crete, Meriones had them enjoin'd
" Bore after them, and each his burthen caſt
" Down on the beach regular."

—— And again in the ſame book, after the corpſe was burnt

" Deſigning next the compaſs of the tomb,
" They mark'd its boundary with ſtones, then filled
" The wide incloſure *haſtily* with earth,
" And having heaped it to its height return'd."

COWPER'S Iliad.

The preſent appearance of this tumulus, exhibits every mark of an haſty erection and unfiniſhed rites. We know from Homer that Achilles had always deſigned that after death, his own aſhes ſhould be mingled with thoſe of Patroclus, therefore there was no occaſion for making the tumulus ſo extenſive at that time, becauſe ſays he in the ſame book, " afterwards the Greeks who " ſhall be left in the ſhips after my death ſhall conſtruct one " broader and loftier."

In Ψ 245, He ſays

Τὺμβον δ' οὐ μαλα πολλὸν ἐγὼ πονέεσθαι ἄνωγα
Αλλ' ἐπιειχέα τοῖον, &c.

" There let him reſt, with decent honor laid,
" Till I ſhall follow to th' infernal ſhade;
" Meantime erect the tomb, with pious hands,
" A COMMON STRUCTURE on the humble ſands.
" Hereafter Greece ſome nobler work may raiſe
" And late poſterity record our praiſe."

POPE's Iliad, Book 23, line 304.

How ſtriking then does this paſſage aſſimilate with the preſent appearance of both tombs, the one lofty and compleat ſtretching out from a tall promontory far into the ſpacious Helleſpont, the other low and humble, down on the beach in an unfiniſhed ſtate. Before I conclude theſe ſlight remarks upon the Troad, it will be neceſſary and an act of juſtice to bear teſtimony to the excellent work of Mr. Morritt, and to his general accuracy, though he has in one or two points been erroneous, which I attribute to his leaning upon Chevalier, but his ingenious conjectures, as well as ſpirited and manly arguments in his controverſy with Mr. Bryant, will ever place him in the light of one of the ableſt vindicators of Homer, and defenders of the exiſtence of Troy.

From the Sigæan promontory we proceeded to Koum Cala, or caſtle on the ſand, a fortreſs erected by the Turks to defend the entrance of the Helleſpont, with a correſponding one on the oppoſite ſhore. This place I take to have been the ſtation of the Grecian fleet, it is about two miles and a half from the Sigæan promontory, the ſweep of the ſhore reſembles a bow. Not far diſtant from the village is the Scamander,

der, the north bank of which was moſt probably the ſtation of Ajax as the Sigæan promontory was that of Achilles, compoſing the right and left wings of the Grecian army; this pla ce will allow ample room both for the troops and tents, and would, I doubt not, at the preſent day be ſelected as a place of debarkation, were the ſubjugation of the Troad intended.

From Koum Cala we croſſed the Scamander or Simois, and coaſting along the ſhores of the Helleſpont at length reached the *In Tepe*, or tomb of Ajax, the place from whence we ſet out, having thus concluded a moſt agreeable tour of four days, in which we had traverſed about forty miles, and ſurveyed the Troad with tolerable accuracy, *ſtudio minuente laborem*, the pleaſure of which excurſion was only alloyed by the reflection that it could not be of a longer continuance.

But before I cloſe my work, I ought to add a few remarks upon the ſeveral tours, in which others as well as myſelf have beeen engaged; the firſt is, that though we travel in the Eaſt with ſufficient regularity to calculate diſtances, which cannot be far from the truth, ſtill I by no means pretend to aſſert that our eſtimation is equal to actual meaſurement; for this purpoſe indeed more time is requiſite, than I could ſpare at the moment when I viſited the Troad, but I underſtand this has been done by Mr. Hawkins, whoſe reſearches I hope will be given to the public, and to whoſe accuracy I ſhall moſt cheerfully ſubmit ſuch obſervations as occured to myſelf in my haſty

excurſion; we are all miſled by imagination as well as the eye, and may all have incurred errors, which nothing but an actual ſurvey can correct.

Another defect is obvious, which is, that we have none of us viewed the Troad in the winter when the Simois would undoubtedly have a very different appearance; and when the Scamander, though a perennial ſtream, might ſhew itſelf to more advantage. A ſtream confeſſedly diverted into a different channel for two thouſand years, cannot be judged by the preſent remains of its channel, which has been choaking, and in a courſe of obliteration for the ſame period: from the bed as we viewed it in ſome parts, I ſhould judge that it might fully have anſwered every attribute aſſigned to it by Homer, but it can never be ſeen again in its natural ſtate, unleſs the canal were cloſed, the channel cleared, and the ſtream reſtored to its original bed, all this would hardly be effected in any country, *but in Turkey it is impoſſible*; all that I pretend to aſſert is, that I am perfectly convinced it has been diverted, and that it did originally join the Simois, on this head my conviction is as perfect as that of Mr. Chevalier or Mr. Morritt.

A third fact neceſſary to be known, can only be aſcertained by a viſit in the winter, which is, the diſtinction between the two ſprings, at the head of the Scamander; the inhabitants certainly confirmed to us, the ſame aſſertion they had made to Mr. Morritt, and Mr, Chevalier, but the teſtimony of an European, who had

ſeen

ſeen one ſpring reeking, and the other not, who had aſcertained the difference of heat between the two, would be more ſatisfactory than any teſtimony upon report. I do not queſtion the fact, for the report was conſtant, ſtill as a report it cannot have the weight of ocular demonſtration.

But above all it is ſtill neceſſary for ſome well informed traveller, to examine on the ſpot all the circumſtances which occur in the poems of Homer, to point out the true poſition of the city itſelf, and this ſhould be done, not by a curſory ſurvey as ours neceſſarily was, but by a reſidence of ſome days at Bunarbaſhi; on this ſubject there ſtill remains much for examination, for though the fountains of the Scamander, and the high ground to ſouth eaſt do ſufficiently lead us to general concluſions, it is highly poſſible that the eye of a judicious obſerver would trace out ſomething more ſpecifically true than has hitherto been obtained; but for this purpoſe more time is certainly requiſite than it was poſſible for us to beſtow upon the diſcovery.

I now ſubmit theſe remarks to the candour of the reader, who will, I truſt, ſo far allow the motive for publication, as he feels the neceſſity of comparing evidence to arrive at truth.

F I N I S.

Printed by C. CLARKE, Northumberland Court, Strand.

ERRATA.

Page 7, Line 18, *for* Æſopus, *read* Æſepus.
9, —— 4, *after figure, dele* I.
27, —— 18, *for* mind, *read* minds.
30, —— 15, *for* intellectural, *read* intellectual.
51, —— 4, *for* place, *read* ſpace.

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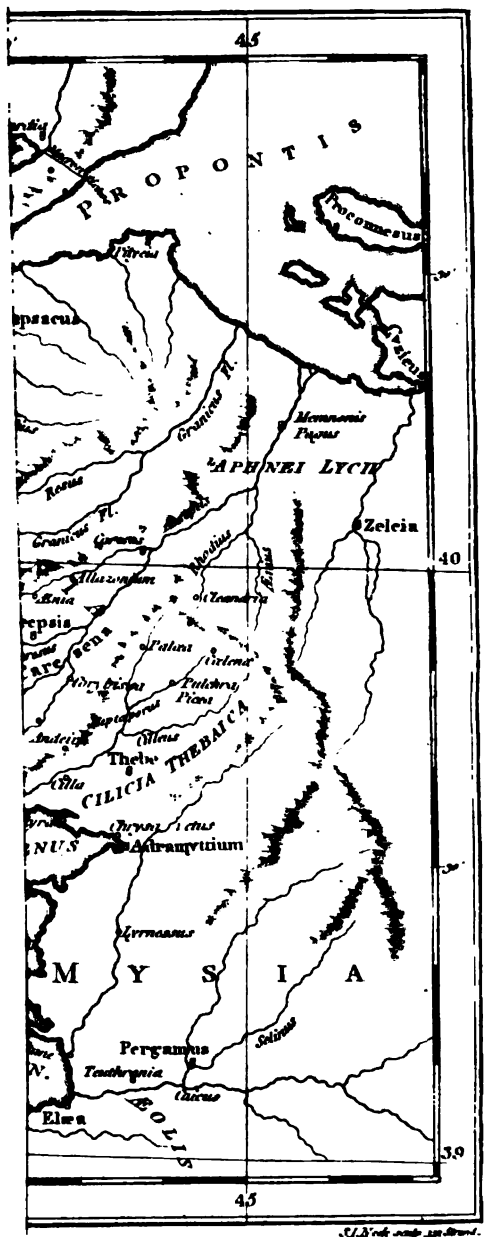
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THE HISTORY

OF

ILIUM OR TROY:

INCLUDING

THE ADJACENT COUNTRY,

AND

THE OPPOSITE COAST

Of the CHERSONESUS of THRACE.

BY THE AUTHOR OF

"TRAVELS IN ASIA MINOR AND GREECE."

LONDON:

PRINTED BY NICHOLS AND SON, RED LION PASSAGE, FLEET STREET,

FOR JAMES ROBSON, NEW BOND STREET.

1802.

TO THE READER.

THE following Work is founded on an extensive research into Antiquity concerning Troy, made, several years ago, in consequence of frequent conversations on the subject with Mr. Wood, the celebrated Editor of the Ruins of Palmyra and Balbec; who honoured the Author with his friendship, and who procured for him an opportunity of visiting the Tröia, as a traveller, under the auspices of the Society of Dilettanti.

On his return to Oxford, where he enjoyed at Magdalen College both access to Libraries and sufficient leisure, the Author endeavoured to obtain a more complete knowlege of the Country, and especially of the region of Troy, by a minute inveſtigation of its History and Geography; and also of the connexion which has subsisted and is still evident, or of which traces are discoverable, between it and the Ilias.

The Author intended communicating the result of his Enquiries to Mr. Wood, for his use in the *Comparative View of the ancient and present state of the* Troas, which accompanies his Essay on Homer; but was prevented by the unexpected death of that excellent person; after which public as well as private loss, though he persevered in preparing his Trojan labours for the Press and advertised them, their appearance was suspended, and perhaps might have continued so, had not his attention to them been revived by a recent Controversy.

Finding the *Description of the Plain of* Troy by M. Chevalier, and several Publications which relate to it, unsatisfactory, the Writer has been induced to revise his own latent Work, to enlarge it, and to resolve on offering the whole to the judgement of the Learned and Curious, if the History now before them, a detached portion of it, meets with a favourable reception.

Tileburst, Berks,
May 10, 1802.

PUBLICATIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF TROY.

I. DESCRIPTION of the Plain of TROY: with a Map of that region, delineated from an Actual Survey. Read in French before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Feb. 21 and 28, and March 21, 1791. By the Author, M. CHEVALIER, Fellow of that Society, and of the Academies of Metz, Cassel and Rome.

Translated from the Original not yet published, and the Version accompanied with Notes and Illuſtrations by Andrew Dalzel, M. A. F. R. S. Edin. Professor of Greek and Principal Librarian in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh, 1791.

This Translation was, with the Notes, translated into German under the inspection of M. HEYNE of Gottingen; and published, with a Preface, additional Notes, and a Dissertation written by M. HEYNE, at Leipsic, in 8vo.

II. TABLEAU de la PLAINE de TROYE: Accompagné d'une CARTE levée géométriquement, en 1785 et 1786. Par M. Chevalier etc. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.* Vol. III. Edinburgh, 1794. Some Inscriptions only cited in the above translation are here engraved.

*** In the same work, Vol. I. Part II. p. 43. is a *Dissertation to prove that Troy was not taken by the Greeks.* By John Maclaurin, Esq. Advocate and F. R. S. Edinburgh. Read by the Author Feb. 16, 1784.

III. Observations upon a Treatise, entitled A Description of the Plain of TROY, by Monsieur le Chevalier. By Jacob Bryant. Eton. 1795.

IV. A Dissertation concerning the war of TROY, and the Expedition of the Grecians, as described by Homer; shewing, that no such Expedition was ever undertaken, and that no such City of Phrygia existed. By Jacob Bryant. No date. Published in 1796.

V. A Letter to Jacob Bryant, Esq. concerning his Dissertation on the War of TROY. By Gilbert Wakefield, B. A. late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. London, 1797.

VI. Constantinople, Ancient and Modern, with Excursions to the Shores and Islands of the Archipelago and to the Troad. By James Dallaway, M. B. F. S. A. late Chaplain and Physician of the British Embassy to the Porte. London, 1797.

VII. M. Chevalier's TABLEAU de la PLAINE de TROYE, illustrated and confirmed, from the OBSERVATIONS of subsequent TRAVELLERS, and others. By Andrew Dalzel, M. A. F. R. S. Edin. Professor of Greek, and Secretary and Librarian in the University of Edinburgh. Read Sept. 4, 1797. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.* Vol. IV. Edinburgh, 1798.

*** The Appendix, No. I, contains Extracts from Professor HEYNE's Preface to the German Translation of M. CHEVALIER's Treatise, No. II. Mr. HEYNE's Note, additional to Mr. DALZEL's on ACHILLES's Pursuit of Hector. Il. XXII. 165. N. III. Essay on the Topography of the Iliad. By Professor HEYNE, of Gottingen, Aulic Counsellor to his Britannic Majesty, etc. N. B. *This Essay is a republication, with alterations, of a Paper entitled* "De acie Homerica et de oppugnatione castrorum a Trojanis facta. Commentatio recitata a C. G. Heyne, d. XIII. Sept. 1783;" *and printed* in "Commentationes Soc. Regiæ Scientiarum Gottingensis, T. VI. ad ann. 1783 et 1784. Gottingæ, 1785."

VIII. A

VIII. A Vindication of Homer, and of the ancient Poets and Historians who have recorded the Siege and Fall of TROY. In answer to two late Publications of Mr. Bryant. With a Map and Plates. By I. B. S. Morritt, Esq. York, 1798.

IX. Some Observations upon the Vindication of Homer, and of the ancient Poets and Historians, who have recorded the Siege and Fall of TROY. Written by I. B. S. Morritt, Esq. By Jacob Bryant. Eton. 1799.

X. A Review of Mr. I. B. S. Morritt's Vindication of Homer. Published in the British Critick, Jan. 1ſt and March 1ſt; also printed separately; 1799.

XI. An Expostulation addressed to the British Critick. By Jacob Bryant. Eton. 1799.

XII. At New Strelitz, M. C. G. Lenz has published "The Plain of TROY, after Count Choiseul Gouffier and other Travellers; together with a Treatise of Major Muller, of Gottingen, etc. with Maps;" which confirms and farther illustrates M. Chevalier's Geography of the ſite of TROY. *New Annual Register for the Year* 1799. *Foreign Literature, p.* 291.

XIII. Additional Remarks on the Topography of TROY, etc. as given by Homer, Strabo, and the ancient Geographers; in answer to Mr. Bryant's last Publications. By I. B. S. Morritt, Esq. London. 1800.

XIV. Remarks and Observations on the Plain of TROY, made during an Excursion in June, 1799. By William Francklin, Captain in the service of the East India Company, and Author of a Tour to Persia, etc. London. 1800.

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13	*penult.*	read ζ. 435.
34	18	—— Πολιτου
56	16	—— Phryno
56	7	—— *Bitch*
58	18	—— tho-people
74	22	—— country as
93	*penult.*	—— 600
99	6	—— Chevalier
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THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

ILIUM OR TROY.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the work now submitted to the public, mention will frequently be made of an antient author and critic, who has been stiled by M. Chevalier, not more contemptuously and arrogantly than ignorantly, *one* Demetrius; and who has experienced nearly equal incivility from some of his followers. This person, a native of Scepsis, no mean city of Mount Ida, was contemporary with Crates and Aristarchus[1]. He was rich and well born, or, in modern phrase, *a man of family*. He was a great philologist and grammarian; of high reputation for learning; and especially noted for his study of Homer, and his topographical commentaries on the Ilias. He was not a common obscure individual. He was indeed *one* Demetrius, but of a class very different from that to which M. Chevalier would reduce him. He was *one* of the twenty on record, who had conferred lustre on his name[2].

[1] Strabo, p. 609, 603.

[2] Diogenes Laertius, l. v. § 84.

Demetrius, in a volume entitled *The Array of the Trojan Army*[1], consisting of thirty books[2], discussed the extent of the kingdom of Priam, to which the Scepsian territory had belonged, and described the people and cities subject to him. My design lies in a much smaller compass; respecting chiefly the heart and vitals of his empire, the seat of government, and its vicinity; but, as this is intimately connected with the parts adjacent, will comprize a portion of the surrounding country.

Avoiding the question concerning the limits of the Tröia or Troas, about which authors have varied[3], I shall follow the very antient geographer Scylax of Caryanda, who makes it, as Strabo has observed[4], commence at Abydos; and, in Asia, shall confine my researches to the district, of which the coast, beginning at the junction of the Propontis with the Hellespont, reaches to Cape Lectos; including the region of Mount Ida connected with it, serving as it were for a back-ground to the landscape as beheld from the sea; and also some places situate on the opposite side: in Europe, to the corresponding coast of the Chersonesus of Thrace, ending in the promontory where the Hellespont falls into the Ægæan. I shall not enter at present on the local detail, but, referring the reader to the annexed map of the country, proceed with its history.

[1] Τρωϊκὸς διακοσμος. [2] Strabo, p. 609. [3] Strabo, p. 574. [4] p. 583.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER I.

Of the early Inhabitants of the Tröia.

THE Samothracians, a people reputed not of alien extraction, but *Aborigines*, whose island, in Homer called Samos, is in view of the Tröia, related, that the Pontic Sea had been once a vast pool of standing water; which, swollen by rivers running into it, first overflowed to the Cyaneæ, two rocks of the Thracian Bosphorus; and afterwards, forcing a way and flooding the champain country, formed the sea called the Hellespont[1].

The Tröia, if not occupied by an aboriginal race of men, like the Samothracian, connate and coëval with the soil, has been, in a remote age, without inhabitants. If it derived its population from the East, and more immediately from the region called afterwards *The Greater Phrygia*, which has been surmised, some tramontane adventurers may have looked down on it from the heights of Mount Ida, and beheld it a rude uncultivated desert. In the place of the Hellespont may then have been an inconsiderable stream, a marsh, or, perhaps, dry ground. If it was peopled before the inundation from the Pontus, those who escaped, when it happened, must, as in Samothrace, have fled for refuge to the mountains.

Plato has been cited[2] as having remarked, that, for some time after the early deluges, of which a memory was preserved by

[1] Diodorus Siculus, l. 5.

[2] Strabo, p. 592.

tradition in other places besides Samothrace, only the summits of the mountains were inhabited, the waters as yet spreading over the level ground; that men descended first to the bottom of the hills; then into the plains, where dry; and thus, by degrees, reached the sea-shore and the islands; and that improvement in disposition, manners, and mode of living, accompanied, in some measure, their changes of situation, until from wild, rustic, without laws, they became social, civilized, and well regulated.

The Samothracians also related, that Dardanus passed over from their island, his birth-place, in a boat, to the continent of Asia, and settled in the Tröia. Whether before his arrival in the country, then nameless, the tops of Ida were inhabited by a native race dwelling in caverns, without ploughing or sowing, in distinct families, governed each by its head, and without senate or laws, like the Cyclopes of Homer [1], who have been cited as an example to illustrate the Platonic doctrine of a progressive descent from the mountains, we are not told; but we find, in the time of Dardanus, a community or society existing, for which he founded his city Dardania, when, according to Æneas, in Homer [2], the people still lived at the bottom of Mount Ida, and as yet there was no city, no Ilium, in the plain.

[1] Odyssey, ι'. 109. [2] Il. υ'. 216.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

Of the Kings before Priam.

THE history of the Tröia, commencing in the most remote antiquity, is in the earlier part, as might be expected, enwrapped in obscurity, and intermixed with fable.

Dardanus is mentioned by Homer as a son of Jupiter. The Samothracian Mysteries were said to have been introduced by him into the Tröia [1]. He espoused, according to some writers, Batieia, called also Asia and Arisbe [2], daughter of Teucer, a descendant of the first King Cynthius, and son of Scamander and Ida. But Homer has taken no notice of this King Teucer, or of any dynasty before Dardanus.

Erichthonius, who succeeded his father Dardanus, was, we are told by Æneas, in the Ilias [3], the richest of mortal men, and had three thousand horses, the mares, with colts or fillies, feeding in the *marsh*. This may be supposed a remain of the inundation or deluge.

Tros [4], son of Erichthonius, and *King of the Trojans*, had three sons, Ilus his successor, Assaracus, and Ganymedes, whose story is fabulous.

Ilus was the first who ventured to descend from Mount Ida, and to settle between it and the sea; not, it has been remarked [5],

[1] See Strabo, Excerpta, l. 7, p. 331.
[2] Stephanus Byzant. in Αρισβη.
[3] υ'. 220.
[4] υ'. 230.
[5] Strabo, p. 593.

with

with perfect confidence in this change of situation, since he cautiously founded Troy or Ilium (Homer uses both appellations), at a distance from the shore. Tantalus and his son Pelops, ancestors of Agamemnon, with whom the Grecian chronology of Homer commences[1], were driven by him out of Asia. His barrow is mentioned in the Ilias as remaining in the plain before the city.

Laomedon succeeded his father Ilus. In his time, Helle, flying, with her brother Phryxus, from Greece, is said to have fallen into the water between the Chersonesus of Thrace and Sigéum[2], which occasioned the changing of the name Pontus into Hellespontus, *the Sea of Helle*[3].

It is an extraordinary tale which Neptune relates in the Ilias; that he and Apollo, coming from Jupiter, were hired for a year by Laomedon; and employed, he in building the city and wall, his fellow-servant as an herdsman on Mount Ida. I refer to the poem[4] for the injustice and bad usage which they experienced; and in consequence of which the Tröia was afflicted with various calamities. Neptune, in particular, sent a monster, called Cetus, which, issuing from the sea and doing a great deal of mischief, occasioned the consulting of an Oracle. They were directed to offer a damsel to it; and Hesione, daughter of Laomedon, on whom the lot fell, was exposed, chained on the

[1] Mitford's History of Greece, v. I. p. 165.

[2] Apollodorus, by Gale, l. 1, p. 36.

[3] Diodorus Siculus, l. 4, c. 3.

[4] Il. φ'. 444.

shore,

shore, near the mouth of the Hellespont, where, the Argonauts arriving most opportunely, her delivery was undertaken by Hercules. A high wall or rampart is mentioned in Homer[1], as having been thrown up by the Trojans and Minerva for him to fly to, if he should be pursued from the sea-shore toward the plain. He killed the Cetus with his arrows; and, on his return from Colchis, sent Iphicles and Telamon to demand the promised recompense, which was refused. He then, on account of the horses of Laomedon, as the poet relates, came against Ilium, and, with only six ships and an inferior force, laid the city waste, and made the streets desert[2]. Laomedon, with three of his sons, perished in the contest, and Hesione was bestowed by the conqueror on Telamon.

CHAPTER III.

I. *Of King Priam.*—II. *Of Troy.*—III. *Of the dominions of Priam.*—IV. *Of the Tröia, in the time of Priam.*—V. *The rape of Helen.*

I. PRIAM, who succeeded his father Laomedon, had Jupiter for his ancestor in the sixth degree; and it has been observed, that Homer, who reckons time by genealogies, was unable to trace the pedigree of any other family beyond the fourth generation upwards; when, or before, his heroes "all end in a god, a

[1] υ'. 145. [2] ι'. 640, 651.

river,

river, or some unaccountable personage[1]." He was a warrior, and joined the army of the Phrygians as an ally, when they were invaded by the Amazons[2]. His queen, Hecuba, was a native of their country, daughter of Dymas[3]; not, as in Virgil, of Cisseus. He had fifty sons, nineteen by her, and the remainder by other women; for he had many[4]. He lived in a patriarchal stile, as well as age, surrounded by his family. His palace, which had a vestibule and portico, was, such as he needed, an ample edifice; furnishing apartments for all his sons, and for his twelve daughters, and their wives and husbands[5]. It was in the citadel, where also was the temple of Minerva, of which the priestess was Theano, wife of Antenor, who, and not Hecuba, was a Thracian, and daughter of Cisseus[6].

II. Troy, the capital of Priam, an inconsiderable place, it should seem, when assailed by Hercules, recovered under him from the damage it had then sustained, and became famous for its riches; for plenty of brass and gold[7]. Homer has bestowed epithets of encomium on the buildings, and on the wall with which it was fortified. Its site was a rising ground in the plain, amid morasses, occasioned, if not by the deluge of Plato, by torrents descending from Mount Ida after showers, or the melting of snow on the summits; the rivers beneath being liable to overflow; and new land continually accruing from the mud and slime

[1] Mitford's History, v. I. p. 160, 165. [2] Il. γ'. 184. [3] ξ'. 299. π'. 718. [4] φ'. 88. ω'. 495. [5] ζ'. 242. [6] ζ'. 296. λ'. 224. ι'. 70. [7] ι'. 402. σ'. 289.

mixed

mixed with their waters, when turbid. Two of these streams are of great renown. They were supposed to be presided over by the local deities whose names they bore; Simois, a son of Jupiter, and his brother, "whom the gods call Xanthus, but men Scamander," says Homer[1], opposing, it has been surmised by a learned writer, the Greek appellation Xanthus to the Phrygian, or one in more common use taken from the dialect, whatever it had been before, of the country; an hypothesis which I shall not apply to other similar instances of double names occurring in the poet, as happily my subject does not require the discussion or solution of his enigmas. The prevailing, if not the sole, language of Troy was, as may be inferred from him, the same as in Greece. Hector and Achilles, not to cite more examples, understand each other in the Ilias; nor can it be supposed that Paris wooed Helen through the medium of an interpreter. The religion also was the same. Jupiter, Apollo, Venus, Mars, and Vulcan, are mentioned, besides Minerva, as worshipped there; and these, with various other circumstances, concur in favour of an antient opinion, that remotely a connection had subsisted between the two people; which, indeed, might well have been, since their mutual distance was not more than a vessel could sail, with a fair wind, in a few days; for Achilles, in the Ilias, says, that he might arrive at Phthia, which was in Thessaly, on the third day after his departure from before Troy[2]; and Diomed, on his return home, after stopping at Tenedos and Lesbos, on the

[1] Il. υ'. 74. [2] ι'. 363.

fourth day came to Argos [1]. The Peloponnesian war will furnish an instance of a voyage from the Hellespont performed with yet greater expedition.

III. The dominions of Priam, who from little became great and a king of kings [2], comprised the whole of the country lying within the island of Lesbos, Phrygia, and the Hellespont [3]; and were divided into eight or nine dynasties [4]. Of the portion within our limits, the mountain-side and the tract beneath Ida toward the sea, constituted Dardania [5]; in which was the city Dardanus or Dardania, possessed by the Dardani or Dardanii. Troy or Ilium belonged to the Troes or Trojans. The other places noticed in the Ilias are, in Asia, Abydos, Thymbra, Scepsis, and Tenedos; which island had been recently peopled by Tennes [6], from whom it was named; the son, according to some, of Cygnus, a Thracian by descent, and King of Colonæ, on the opposite continent of Asia. The Thracians of the Chersonesus are distinguished by the poet as dwellers on the Hellespont [7], and Sestos is joined with Abydos and Arisbe, which last, from an epithet [8] bestowed on it, is supposed to have been the principal city of that jurisdiction [9].

IV. The Tröia seems, in the time of Priam, to have been inhabited chiefly by villagers, who cultivated the soil; or by peasants, who were dispersed over the country, attending cattle

[1] Odyssey, γ. l. 3. [2] Strabo, p. 596, p. 574. [3] Il. ω. 545.
[4] Strabo, p. 582. [5] P. 585.
[6] See the story of Tennes in Strabo and Pausanias. [7] P. 586.
[8] ἄν, *noble.* [9] Strabo, p. 591.

in

in the plains and on Mount Ida. In Asia, as well as Greece, the sons of the most exalted personages were then commonly employed in keeping flocks and herds; which constituted a large portion of the opulence, if not the entire revenue, of their fathers. This had been the occupation of Anchises and Æneas. The mares of Priam fed in the pastures of Abydos, under the care of his son Democoon [1]; and his oxen, to omit other instances, under that of Alexander or Paris, on Mount Ida.

V. If, according to old tradition [2], iron-ore was first discovered and manufactured by dwellers on Mount Ida, the Phœnicians, it is likely, frequented the Tröia, even before Priam, to traffic for the metal while it was rare. They are mentioned by Homer [3] as resorting to the ports of Lemnos, with the pretious merchandise of Sidon. A large silver bowl belonging to Achilles, which the poet describes as of incomparable beauty, had been a present from some of them to the king of that island; and Queen Hecuba possessed store of robes embroidered by Sidonian women [4], and procured for her by Alexander or Paris, her son; whose return from his voyage was made memorable by another article of importation which had better been omitted. This was Helen, wife of Menelaus, King of Sparta; to recover whom and the treasures with which she had eloped was the object of the famous confederacy of Grecian princes under Agamemnon, brother of the injured husband.

[1] Il. ϒ. 499. [2] Diodorus Siculus, l. xvii. c. 1. [3] Ψ. 745.
[4] ζ. 290.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Siege and taking of Troy.

THE maritime expeditions and exploits of the Greeks had, excepting that of the Argonauts, been hitherto confined to the landing on some, not distant, territory, and the bringing back of corn, cattle, and other booty, with captives to be retained or sold as slaves. An union of their numerous petty states now enabled them to assemble a great naval armament. This, however, did not venture to cross the Ægæan, but advanced slowly, rowing or sailing by the continent of Europe, toward the Hellespont. It was even said that Agamemnon, on his arrival, after a tedious voyage, in Asia, had, from ignorance of the country, mistaken and laid waste Mysia for the Troas [1].

The possession of the sea-coast before Troy or Ilium was not obtained by the Greeks without opposition. Protesilaus, leader of the Thessalians, who, by much the foremost of the Achæans, leaped on shore from his vessel, was killed by a Dardanian [2]. His funeral, about which Homer is silent, was solemnised, as other antient authors agree, on the opposite side of the Hellespont, in the Chersonesus of Thrace; where afterwards he attained to very great celebrity, and ranked high in the class of divinities stiled *The Heroes*.

[1] Strabo, p. 10, v. Comment.

[2] Il. β. 702.

Troy

Troy was a fenced city, at a distance from the sea, by which the Greeks encamped. It was not invested by them, but, the communication inland continuing open, was supplied with corn, wine, and all other necessaries from the adjacent country. Moreover, the Trojan Elders advised Priam to protract the war, and let the enemy waste away, until, baffled and weary, they should depart of their own accord. On the other hand, it had been foretold to the Greeks, that the Destinies, who were much employed about Troy, would not permit their taking of the city before the tenth year[1]; and, respecting the prophesy, they lingered on in expectation of the fated æra.

Homer has made us acquainted with some of the transactions, which happened during this interval. Agamemnon thrice assailed the city-wall with the flower of the army[2]; and Helen was employed in weaving a large web representing the many labours sustained by the Greeks and Trojans fighting on her account[3]. Achilles took and destroyed twelve cities with his ships, and eleven in the Troïa[4]. He pursued Æneas, coming on him unawares when alone with his oxen, across Mount Ida[5]. He killed, to omit his other exploits, many brave sons of Priam, or sold them for captives beyond sea, in distant islands, and in Samos, Imbros, and Lemnos[6].

[1] β'. 329. [2] ξ'. 435. [3] γ'. 127. [4] ι'. 334.
[5] υ'. 91; 190. [6] χ'. 44; ω'. 753.

The

The Ilias commences soon after the expiration of the ninth year of the sojourn of the Greeks before the city [1], and in the twentieth from the arrival there of Helen [2], about the time when the accomplishment of the prophesy, big with the fate of Troy, was looked for by the invaders. Priam had prepared for his defence, and the auxiliary troops furnished by his allies were already come, or on the road, to join his army under Hector.

Achilles, having laid waste Lyrnessus and Thebe, two cities of the Cilices, returned to the camp. In the division of the booty, Briseis, who had seen her husband slain by him before Lyrnessus, fell to his share; and to that of Agamemnon, Chryseis, daughter of the priest of Apollo of Chrysa [3], whom he took at Thebe, where he slew Eëtion, one of their kings [4] and father of Andromache, wife of Hector [5]. Chryses, father of Chryseis, followed and desired to redeem her; but Agamemnon refused to let her go with him. A malady which ensued and sorely afflicted the army was ascribed to the anger of Apollo. He was then prevailed on to restore the lady, and she was conducted back to Chrysa; but he required, as an indemnification, the surrender of Briseis by Achilles, whose wrath on the occasion is the subject of the Ilias.

Agamemnon, inspired with confidence by the prophesy that Troy would be taken in the tenth year, determined, though

[1] β'. 295. Strabo, p. 585, 612. [2] ω'. 765. [3] β'. 690; τ'. 296. [5] Il. ζ'. 416.

Achilles

Achilles remained sullen at his quarters, to advance against the city. He was met by Hector; and, after a battle, it was deemed expedient to fortify the camp. Hector finally succeeded in his efforts to enter the intrenchment. He set fire to the ship in which Protesilaus had come. Achilles then sent his Myrmidons to repel the enemy. Patroclus, who commanded them, pursuing Hector, was killed by him before Troy. The next day, Hector was slain near the Scæan gate by Achilles. The Ilias finishes with the funeral of Patroclus and of Hector, whose body was redeemed by Priam.

Homer has not left us wholly uninformed of subsequent events; but he has only touched on some particulars, and many are entirely omitted; it not suiting with the design of either of his works to dwell on them more fully; to relate them by anticipation in the Ilias, or to insert them in episodes of the Odyssey. The remaining story or portions of it employed the genius of various poets after him; some of great antiquity[1]; and of one, the author of *The Sequel of the Ilias*[2], yet extant in Greek, who seems to have compiled from all his predecessors, and whom, his name and age not being hitherto ascertained, I conjecture to have been Macer, the tutor of Ovid, and companion of his travels[3].

[1] See Fabretti ad Tabellam Iliadis.

[2] See Bayle. *Calaber.*

[3] Tu canis æterno quicquid restabat Homero,
Ne careant summa Tröica bella manu. Epist. ex Ponto, l. ii. x.

I shall

I shall relate very succinctly the principal incidents said to have followed the death of Hector.

The army of Priam again went forth to battle, having been joined by a troop of Amazons, who were all slain, Penthesiléa their leader by Achilles.

Memnon, King of the Æthiopians, is mentioned in the Odyssey [1]. He was the reputed son of the goddess Aurora, by Tithonus, brother of Priam, to whose assistance he came. He slew Antilochus, son of Nestor; and wounded Achilles, with whom he fought, in the arm, but was conquered by him. Achilles then eagerly pursued the enemy flying toward the city; was pierced with an arrow in his ancle by Paris and Apollo; and fell, as is foretold to him by Hector and Patroclus in the Ilias [2], near the Scæan gate, under the wall of Troy. Aurora and Thetis have been represented mourning, each of them, like a mortal mother, for the loss of her son.

After the funeral of Achilles, which is described in the Odyssey [3], games were celebrated by the barrow, and, at their conclusion, his armour was produced and placed in the circle; to be given to him who held the next rank in person and achievements. Ulysses obtained the prize; and Ajax Telamon, on his disappointment, was said to have put an end to his life with the sword presented to him by Hector after their single combat related in the Ilias.

[1] γ'. [2] χ'. 360; Ψ'. 81. [3] λ'. υ'. 549.

The

The successor of Achilles was his son Pyrrhus or Neoptolemus, of whom mention is made in the Ilias and the Odyssey. Ulysses and Diomed were sent to bring him to the camp, from the island of Scyros. He slew Eurypylus son of Telephus King of Mysia, and a nephew of Priam, who had come with succours to Troy.

The same chieftains prevailed on Philoctetes, a leader skilled in archery, to return with them to the camp from the island of Lemnos; where, suffering from the poison of an aquatic viper, as Homer has related in the Ilias[1], he had been left by the Greeks, who, it is added, were soon about to think of him again. In a battle he wounded Paris with an arrow; and, he dying, the widow Helen presently became the wife of Deiphobus his brother; when Helenus, another of the sons of Priam, leaving Troy in disgust, gave information to the Greeks that they could not take the city without having first conveyed away the Palladium or image of Minerva from the temple of the Goddess there. Ulysses and Diomed succeeded in this enterprize.

Ulysses afterwards devised the famous stratagem of the wooden horse, of which mention is made in the Odyssey; and was, with Diomed, among the adventurers in it. Agamemnon departed with the army to Tenedos. The Trojans conveyed the fatal machine into their city, being deceived by

[1] β'. 725.

the tale of Sinon; who, when all, wearied with festivity, were asleep, raised on high a flaming torch or fire-brand, the signal for the fleet to return. The concealed warriors, coming forth from their ambush, set fire to the city; and their countrymen on reaching the shore hastened to join them in completing its destruction by massacre and pillage.

The general consent of antient Greece testified, that the sacking of Troy happened a little before the Summer solstice, in the year which chronologers have found to coincide with 1184 before the Christian æra; and in the Attic month Thargelion. The day, which is not so well agreed on, was, according to some old authors and the Parian marble, the twenty-fourth. Scaliger makes it the twenty-second of June, as we reckon [z].

[z] De Emendat. temp. l. v.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER V.

Of the Evidence and Credibility of the genuine Story.

THE Grecks were solicitous to render the memory of an achievement, which continued for many centuries the most remarkable of any in their history, perpetual. They represented the various incidents on their public monuments and edifices in marble, on their gems, and drinking-cups. It was the favourite subject of their poets, painters, and sculptors. Several of their antient temples were rich in spoils of Troy; and some exhibited, for ages, tools, which had been employed in the siege; weapons, and armour of the warriors, which had been suspended as votive offerings on the walls, or reposited in their treasuries; and the real or pretended relics of some of the chieftains, who had been present, were prized like those of modern saints; far-distant cities making a boast of having them in their possession.

The Ilias was generally received, both in Europe and Asia, as an indisputable record. Its testimony was confirmed by the annals and traditions of all the nations engaged in the war on either side; which jointly and separately demonstrated its main narrative not to be fiction or romance. Moreover, the posterities of several of the kings and princes mentioned by Homer remained, and were acknowleged as such for many successive generations. Another

Ilium arose in the Tröia, to preserve the name and memory of that which had been destroyed. The port principally used by the ships under Agamemnon continued, after their departure, to be called that of *The Achæans*; and the stations of the vessels of Achilles and Ajax Telamon were pointed out for ages; besides barrows, ruined cities, and other remaining evidences of the transaction. The knowlege of the principal events of the war and of its consequences would have been propagated and transmitted down both in Asia and Europe, though not to the same extent or with equal celebrity, if the Ilias and Odyssey had never been composed.

Many Greeks and Trojans perished, fighting in the plain, in storming or defending the outwork of the camp or the city-wall. It was the usage of each people to consume the bodies with fire; but, while one heap of wood sufficed for the vulgar dead, and one pit received their ashes, a separate funeral, solemn and expensive ceremonies, a vast pile blazing across the Hellespont, and a barrow with a stela or stone-pillar on it, distinguished the fallen chief.

The Greeks celebrated the obsequies of their slain, after the establishment of their camp, apart from it; those of the leaders generally near their quarters or on the shore of the Hellespont. *There*, Nestor tells Telemachus in the Odyssey [r], lay Patroclus and Achilles, Ajax Telamon, and his own son Antilochus.

[r] γ'. 108.

There

There also lay other renowned warriors, whose monuments, though we find little or no notice taken of them in remaining authors, may have continued extant, and been distinguished in after ages by antiquaries and the people of the country.

The rites of the dead, as established by antient usage, inspired a reverence for places of sepulture, and prevented the memory of their owners, whose names were frequently inscribed on the pillars fixed in the ground over them, from falling suddenly into oblivion. Libations of milk, wine, honey, and the like, were poured on the sod or surface of the barrows; and other offerings were made, supposed to be grateful to the ghosts; which were believed to reside beneath, and to visit the altars placed near them. The heroes accounted Demigods had temples, at which victims were slain before their idols. We shall find several of the barrows denominated long after from the warriors whose relics they covered; and giving names to settlements made near them, and maintained in good measure by the resort of people attending the anniversaries and festivals held at them, or casually visiting them from curiosity or from devotion. That of Achilles and Patroclus was called from the former, as the more excellent and illustrious [1] of the two, Achilleion; that of Ajax, Eantion; and so on with others. Those of Protesilaus, Hector, and Memnon the rival of Achilles in posthumous fame and fable, were planted with trees to protect them from cattle and from the sun.

[1] Fabretti.

The

The divine honours of Achilles were said to have commenced, before the departure of the Greeks from the Hellespont, with the horrid sacrifice of Polyxena, a captive daughter of Priam. Pyrrhus, in the Sequel of the Ilias, declares, that he had seen his father in a vision, and that he required this offering. He is described as holding the victim with his left hand, placing his right on the barrow, and praying to Achilles, that the storm raised by him, to detain them until his Manes should be gratified, might cease. Pyrrhus afterwards settled a colony in Epirus, where a dynasty or series of kings were named from him Pyrrhidæ, and where Achilles was worshipped under the title of Aspetos, *The Inimitable*[1].

The homage paid to Achilles and Patroclus, to Hector, to Ajax Telamon, Antilochus and Protesilaus, at their barrows, by the circumjacent people of the Tröia and Chersonesus, was, at what time soever it began, of long duration; and, as will appear in the sequel, transmitted down from age to age, until it was finally extinguished by the establishment of Christianity in the Roman Empire. A native or a traveller in these countries, before that period, seeing the barrows remaining, and still objects as well of public as private regard, would not have believed it possible that the time would come when the former existence of Troy and of the Heroes would be called in question.

[1] Plutarch in Pyrrhus.

Many

Many additions were made in after ages to the Trojan story. Some were the inventions or embellishments of the poets, especially the tragic; some of artists, who employed their pencil or chissel on select portions of it; some were grafted on passages of the Ilias; and more were not only not countenanced or supported by, but irreconcilable with, Homer.

The legendary tales current, as well among the European as Asiatic Greeks, concerning the heroes, and, in particular, Achilles, to whom I shall confine myself, were almost innumerable. I dwell not on such fables as the immersion of her infant son by Thetis in the river Styx, and his consequent invulnerability except in the heel; his education, not according to the Ilias [1], under Phœnix, but Chiron, who is there only said to have given him some instructions in the art of surgery; his concealment among women and the detection of him by Ulysses, contrary to Homer [2]; his intended marriage with Polyxena, daughter of Priam; the meeting for its adjustment or celebration in the temple of Apollo at Thymbra; and his being treacherously slain there by Paris. Some of these are interpolations utterly undeserving of notice, had they not been occasionally adopted by writers; and in particular by M. Chevalier, in preference to the genuine story as delivered in Homer.

Achilles, Antilochus, and Ajax Telamon, are represented in two Episodes of the Odyssey [3], as companions in the Asphodel-

[1] ξ. 837. [2] ι. 439. [3] λ and ω. 73.

meadow,

meadow, the dwelling-place of the shades of defunct heroes, in the kingdom of Pluto. Agamemnon, who in the first of them, which was regarded as an interpolation by Aristarchus, addresses Achilles, might have added other topics of congratulation, had they been known to the author; such as the admission reserved for him among the Immortals, his marriage with Medea, (which is said to have been a fiction of the very antient poet Ibycus, who was followed in it by Simonides), and his having a sacred Island, of which tale the origin is given by Pausanias on the joint testimony of the people of Crotona in Italy and of Himera in Sicily [1].

The people of Crotona, says the relater, waging war with the Locri of Italy, their general [2], in an attack on the front line of the enemy, where he was told their patron-hero, Ajax Oileus, (his image, I apprehend), was posted, received a wound in the breast. The Delphic oracle directed him to repair to Leuce, an island in the Euxine sea, to be cured by Ajax. On his return, he declared that he had seen Achilles, who resided there with Helen, Patroclus, Antilochus, and the two Ajaxes; and a message from Helen, which he delivered to the poet Stesichorus of Himera, by whom some reflections had been cast on her, probably in his *Destruction of Troy* [3], was, they said, the occasion of his writing a palinode or recantation.

[1] P. 102. [2] Leonymus. [3] Ἴλιου Πέρσις.

This

This island of Achilles, which is mentioned by Euripides [1] and by many other antient authors [2], was formed by mud from rivers; and perhaps has since been connected with the continent of Europe. But, whatever it may now be, for the spot has not been explored, it was originally small, and is described as desert and woody, as abounding in living creatures, and much frequented by aquatic birds, which were regarded as the ministers of the hero, fanning his grove with their wings, and refreshing the ground with drops, as it were of rain, from their bodies. He was said to be visited there by Protesilaus, and several of his friends, who had been likewise released from the regions of Pluto; to *appear* sometimes; and oftener to be heard, playing on his lyre and accompanying it with a voice divinely clear. A long and narrow peninsula in the same sea was called *The Course of Achilles* [3]; being the place where he was reputed to take his exercise of running.

It does not often happen that antient fiction can, as in this instance, be traced to its source; and scepticism or incredulity is frequently the result of difficulty in discriminating true history from its alloy. Mr. Bryant has contended, that the two poems of Homer are mere fables, and that no such war, no such place as Troy, has ever existed [4]. Having made a large collection of idle and absurd stories from different authors [5] about Jupiter and

[1] Iphigenia in Tauris and Andromache. [2] See Bayle. *Achilles.*
[3] Achilleios Dromos. [4] Dissert. p. 169. Observ. p. 49.
[5] Dissert. p. 10.

Leda, and Helen (whom he will not allow to have been carried away from Sparta by Paris), and several other persons concerned, he declares [1], and nobody, I imagine, will dissent from a position of so great latitude, that "The account of the Trojan war, as delivered by Homer *and other Grecian writers*, is attended with so many instances of inconsistency and so many contradictions, that it is an insult to reason to afford it any credit."

In the description, says the same learned person, of the siege of Troy and the great events with which it was accompanied, Homer "is very particular and precise. The situation of the city is pointed out as well as the camp of the Grecians," and various objects, "with the course and fords of the river [2], are distinctly marked, so that the very landscape presents itself to the eye of the reader.—The poet also" mentions "several" subsequent "events—in medias res non secus ac notas auditorem rapit—" all which "casual references seem to have been portions of a traditional history well known in the time of Homer, but as they are introduced almost undesignedly, they are generally attended with a great semblance of truth. For such incidental and partial intimations are seldom to be found in Romance and Fable." Who, on reading these remarks, would suspect it to be the scope of the author, to prove the whole story of Troy as ideal as a fairy-tale?

I will not enter here on a particular examination of the arguments used by Mr. Bryant on this occasion. Some of them I

[1] P. 8. [2] Scamander.

shall

shall be obliged, though unwilling, to notice as we proceed. It may, however, be now mentioned, that among other novel opinions, for which I refer to his Dissertation, he maintains, that the ground-work of the Ilias, if it had any, was foreign to the country on which we are employed; that the history never related, but has been borrowed and transferred, to it; that in short, the original poem of Troy, the parent of the Ilias, was an Egyptian composition. I shall add a companion or two to this notable discovery. A disciple of Epicurus [1] undertook to prove the Ilias to be entirely an allegory; and I have somewhere read, that it was not first written in Greek, but is a translation from the Celtic language.

I subjoin the very different opinion of a respectable writer in the Antient Universal History [2] on the same subject. "The name of King Priam will ever be memorable on account of the war which happened in his reign; a war famous to this day for the many princes of great prowess and renown concerned in it, the battles fought, the length of the siege, the destruction of the city, and the endless colonies planted in divers parts of the world by the conquered as well as the conquerors." "Truly, says my author, the siege and taking of Troy are transactions so well attested, and have left so remarkable an epocha in history, that no man of sense can call them in question."

[1] Metrodorus. [2] V. II. p. 318.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the succession of Æneas and his posterity to the throne of Priam.

THE Grecian kings and princes had not any view to the acquisition of new territory in the war with Priam. When they had laid his dominions and capital waste, they set sail for their own country. Their domestic concerns had been deranged during their absence; and, on their arrival at their homes from their foreign, though not very distant, expedition, they were neither disposed, nor had leisure, nor ability, to regard, to oppose, or frustrate, any measures which might be taken to repeople or restore the cities of the Asiatic provinces, which they had pillaged and abandoned.

Many of the subjects of Priam had fallen in battle, or perished in the general massacre when his capital was taken; but those who survived, if they did not emigrate, returned to the full possession of their ravaged territory. The Trocs and Dardani, though perhaps not considerable in number or power, still existed; and, it is likely, would unite under one head as before, and endeavour to re-establish social order, religion, and civil government.

Great

Great havoc had been made in the principal families of the Tröia during the war; and especially in that of Priam[1]. When he redeemed the body of Hector only nine of his fifty sons remained; and only one, Helenus, who was led into captivity, survived him. Neoptolemus or Pyrrhus, who slew him at the sacking of the city, is said to have destroyed also Scamandrius or Astyanax the son of Hector, when his whole race, as is pretended to be foretold in the Ilias, became extinct in the Tröia.

Æneas and Antenor both derived their pedigree from Dardanus; but only the former in the male line. It is sufficiently clear, says Livy, that to them no injury was done, when Troy was taken; the Greeks sparing them from regard to the sacred tie of antient hospitality, and because they had been advisers of peace and of the restoration of Helen. Antenor was believed to have settled in Italy. Homer, and I seek no other authority, plainly signifies, that Æneas remained in the country, and succeeded to the sceptre of the Trojans[2]; which, when he wrote, had already been, or was likely to be, transmitted down to his posterity.

In the Ilias, to which I confine myself, Æneas is one of the many sons of the Immortals said to be fighting about Troy[3]. The Goddess Venus, his mother, bore him to Anchises among the hills of Mount Ida[4]. He is described as young and brave; but, on one occasion, when his presence was wanted in battle, as standing in the rear of the combatants, and not engaging, from

[1] ω. 252.
[2] Strabo, p. 607, 608.
[3] υ'. 449.
[4] β'. 821.

disaffection

disaffection to Priam, whose neglect had created in him deep resentment. He is a distinguished warrior, and one of those who are celebrated for superior ſtrength. He throws a stone bigger, as the poet relates, than two men, such as his time produced, could carry [1]. Before his combat with Achilles, he tells him, that he was son of Anchiſes, the son of Capys, the son of Assaracus, and equally descended from Jupiter with Priam and Hector [2]. Neptune, seeing him in danger from his antagonist, calls on the Deities then present with him, to consider of his rescue, "for he was fated to escape; in order, that the line of Dardanus, whom Jupiter had loved beyond all his sons by mortal women, might not disappear from want of issue;" adding, "that Jupiter hated the race of Priam, and that Æneas would now govern the Trojans, and the sons of his sons after him [3]." The God, who conveys him away, on leaving him, bids him not to encounter Achilles any more, but to avoid meeting him; and, on his death, to fight boldly among the foremost; for of the Greeks, no one besides would kill him [4].

Homer in thus making Neptune declare the future fortune and elevation of Æneas must be considered as referring to what had actually happened, or, it might be fairly presumed, would happen; for can it be supposed that he would in this manner have introduced what did not accord with real history? Could it answer any purpose, if Æneas did not then govern, or had not

[1] *v.* 287. [2] *v.* 240. [3] *v.* 308. [4] *v.* 339.

reigned

reigned over, the Trojans; if these had no king, or one not of his line; or, if he, being yet alive but aged, was without progeny, and had no prospect of a son to inherit his dominions? No person would be gratified by the tale, and Neptune would be represented unnecessarily and wantonly a liar; as foretelling what not only had not, but never could, come to pass; contradicted by events of general notoriety, and, on the testimony of present appearances, demonstratively convicted of gross falsity. Is it not far more likely that the poet did homage to an existing king of the Trojans; exalting his origin, extolling the hero of his family, and concurring with, if he did not rather endeavour to create and propagate, a popular belief of its having been raised by a divine decree to the vacant throne of Priam? It is no wonder if an adulatory prediction failed of accomplishment.

CHAPTER VII.

The Æolian colonists.

IF a monarchy was indeed established in the Tröia, after Priam, it did not prove such as the poet had presaged either in extent of territory or duration. For it appears that, whether Æneas and his posterity did or not reign there, and whether, if they did, Scepsis, as Demetrius believed[1], or some other place, was their capital, this and the adjacent countries laid open, at no

[1] Strabo, p. 607.

great

great distance of time from the destruction of Troy, an easy and tempting prey to adventurers. Barbarians, as well as Greeks, seized on them; and, by the confusion then introduced, were the occasion of many of the difficulties which writers, as Strabo observes [1], experienced in adjusting the antient topography. It seems, indeed, that, besides this, various parts of the earth were, after the Trojan war, thinly inhabited or desert; the reason why "settlements and even kingdoms were in those days," as Mr. Bryant justly remarks, "very easily obtained [2]."

The Greeks, by their invasion of the dominions of Priam, had acquired a knowlege of the countries about the Hellespont. Of the Æolians two large bodies migrated on the return of the Heracleid family into the Peloponnesus; one under Penthilus, a son of Orestes, son of Agamemnon, sixty years says Strabo, eighty according to Thucydides, after the Trojan war, and, passing over from Thrace into Asia, took possession of Lesbos. The second proceeded to Cuma. From these, as it were Metropolitan, places, the Æolian cities of Asia, about thirty in number, were peopled. The Tröia was chiefly occupied by the Lesbians, some of whose settlements remained in the time of Strabo, but some had disappeared [3]. The Ionians, who colonised Asia Minor, did not leave Greece until four generations after the Æolians [4].

[1] P. 573, 586. [2] Dissert. p. 61. [3] Strabo, p. 599.
[4] Strabo, p. 582.

The

The memory of the principal occurrences of the siege of Troy, though not quite recent, must have been far from extinct when the Æolians arrived in the Tröia or the vicinity. Whether the Trojans continued a people, and whether the city was deserted or not, some persons, who had been present in the war, might be still living; and both the region and the desolated country around it must have furnished indubitable marks of that renowned transaction.

Of the time when the distinct colonies left the island of Lesbos to settle in the Tröia, we are not informed, except in a few instances, which will be mentioned; but they appear, and it is remarkable, not to have attempted any innovation where they came. They seem rather to have incorporated and formed one people with the old inhabitants; instead of destroying, or driving them out, or forcing them to take refuge in the mountains. At Tenedos, for example, Tennes, the founder of the city, who is said to have been slain by Achilles in its defence, was, in after ages, revered alike by the natives and the descendants of the Æolians; and Apollo Smintheus had a temple[1], and continued to be the tutelary god, as he is represented in the Ilias. A final period, it has been supposed, was put to the unfortunate city of Troy, and to the name of its people, by these colonists[2]; but we shall find, as we proceed, an Ilium still existing, and its possessors claiming to be acknowleged as true Trojans.

[1] Strabo, p. 604.

[2] Mitford's History of Greece, vol. I. p. 248.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Tröia invaded by the Ionians and Lydians.

WHEN history becomes less general in the notice which it takes of the Tröia, we read of a city near the river Simois called Polium [1], a place not strongly situated, and which was captured without difficulty, and destroyed by a body of Ionians flying from the dominion of the Lydians in Asia Minor; when the inhabitants, who were indigenous, migrated to Italy, where they founded the city Siris [2]. This people in after ages appealed to the Minerva Ilias, which had been set up there, as an evidence of their being a colony of Trojans; and fabled of it, that it had shut its eyes, when the suppliants were dragged away from it by the Ionians, and was shown still shutting them. "Thus to fable of it, says Strabo [3], as not only seen to have shut them (as that in Ilium to have turned them aside when Cassandra was violated in its presence by Ajax Oïleus), but, moreover, as now shown shutting them, is bold; and much bolder is it *to fable* of the images, as many as it is related have been conveyed out of Ilium, that

[1] Strabo, p. 601. 264. See Comment. p. 223, and Stephens's Thesaurus in Πολιεῦσι, where the place is supposed to have been so called from a temple of Minerva Polias, and where the learned reader may find, what he very rarely can do, a mistake in that most admirable work; it being mentioned as a city in Italy, first named Siris.

[2] See Bayle in *Siris*.

[3] P. 264.

they

they do the like; for at Rome also, at Lavinium, and Luceria, besides Siris, Minerva Ilias is so called as having been transported from thence."

The Ionians of the Tröia, being invaded by the Lydians, also abandoned the country; the whole of which was afterwards under Gyges, who compelled the Greek cities of Asia, until then free, to pay tribute [1]. A colony from Miletus settled with his permission at Abydos, which city and its vicinity had been occupied, after the destruction of Troy, by the Thracians. Sestos was an Æolic city.

CHAPTER IX.

The war between the Athenians and Æolians about Sigéum and Achilléum.

WE come now to the luminous epoch when the Chersonesus of Thrace belonged to the Athenians; who established in it a colony under Miltiades son of Cypselus [2], an Athenian, and a contemporary of Pisistratus; and from it disturbed the quiet of their Æolian neighbours on the opposite side of the Hellespont.

The Lesbians claimed nearly the whole of the Troas as their heritage [3]; having, it may be presumed, enjoyed, for a considerable time, the transmissive possession of it without competitors.

[1] Strabo, p. 590, 554, 591. [2] Strabo, p. 595, 600. [3] P. 599.

The Athenians produced arguments showing that the Æolians had no more right in the Iliéan country than they, or any of the Greeks who had assisted Menelaus after the rape of Helen [1]. They crossed over from Eleûs, a city which they had founded on the point of the European coast of the Hellespont next the Ægean sea, and seized on Sigéum. This city, of which the walls were said to have been built with stones taken from the ruins of Troy by Arçhæanax of Mitylene, and of which the mention first made is by Herodotus, who stiles it *The Trojan Sigéum*, and *Sigéum by the Scamander*, stood on the promontory of that name, on the Asian side of the same sea at the entrance, in or near the Achilléan region or that about the barrow of Achilles; which was the occasion or pretext of the quarrel. The Mitylenéans, to whom the territory belonged, sent a fleet to regain Sigéum; and Pittacus, afterwards elected their tyrant, one of the seven celebrated sages of Greece, had no ordinary antagonist in Phrynon the Athenian general, a conqueror in the Olympic Games, who challenged him to single combat; but, proving victorious, the place was recovered [2].

This war was of considerable duration; one people persisting in their demand, the other refusing to give up the Achilléan country and the place which is termed by Herodotus the Achilléan city. This was holden some time by the Mitylenéans, as a fortress to annoy Sigéum; when the garrisons had frequent en-

[1] Herodotus, l. v. c. 94.

[2] Strabo, p. 599.

counters;

counters; and, among a variety of incidents, one was the escape of the poet Alcæus, without spear or shield; the subject of an ode addressed by him to a friend at Mitylene. His arms, found on the field of battle, were suspended as a trophy by the Athenians against the Athenæum or temple of Minerva at Sigéum [1]. The contest was terminated for a while by Periander, son of Cypselus tyrant of Corinth, who awarded, as arbitrator, that each people should retain what they possessed.

Timæus [2] related, that Periander, assisting those with Pittacus, had walled about Achilléum with stones from the remains of Ilium; but Demetrius affirmed it was false, that this place was walled about for Sigéum by the Mitylenéans, not indeed with those stones, nor by Periander; for how could a party in the war have been chosen for an umpire [3]?

The Mitylenéans recovered Sigéum. It was retaken by Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens. His son Hegesistratus, whom he appointed tyrant there, held, not without fighting, what he received of him. Hippias, also his son, retired with his adherents, when exiled from Attica, to the same place; and it was there, on his second arrival [4], that he formed plans for the getting of Athens into his own possession and that of King Darius.

Æschylus has had a retrospect to the above transaction in his tragedy called *The Furies*. He introduces Minerva as appearing to

[1] Herodotus, Diogenes Laertius, l. 1, 74.

[2] Surnamed Epitimetes, *The Detractor*.

[3] Strabo, p. 600.

[4] Herodotus, l. v. c. 91. 94, 96.

Orestes

Orestes at Athens, and saying, that she was just come from the Scamander; from taking possession of the land, which the Grecian leaders and chiefs had indeed offered to her entirely of their own accord; a large portion of their conquests, a select gift to the parents of Theseus," meaning the Athenians; who had been commanded by an oracle to honour him as an hero, and to bring home his relics from Scyros, which, to the great joy of the people, was accomplished, eight hundred years after he left the city, and in the time of our poet, by Cimon son of Miltiades[1]. They may be supposed to have founded their prior title to the disputed district of the Tröia on this pretended donation to their goddess.

The signification of the name Sigéum appears in an anecdote of an Athenian lady celebrated for her wit, not her virtue. Wearied by the loquacity of a visitor, she enquired of him, " whether he did not come from the Hellespont?" On his answering in the affirmative, she asked him, " how it had happened, that he was so little acquainted with the first of the places there?" On his demanding " which of them?" she pointedly replied " Sigéum;" thus indirectly bidding him to be *silent*[2].

[1] Plutarch *in Cimon.*

[2] Diogenes Laertius, l. 1, 74.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER X.

Of the age of Homer.

IT is remarkable that Homer, though he has taken notice of two capes or promontories forming a bay before Troy, and had frequent opportunities, has yet never mentioned either of them by name. The reason might be, if they had then appellations *in the language of gods or men*, that these were not reconcileable, as in some other instances, to the measure of Greek heroic verse. They seem to have been called, not perhaps until long after him, the one, Rhœtéum, because the current of the Hellespont made a ripling noise about the cape in entering the bay; the other, Sigéum, from its passing out in *silence*.

Homer, according to some, was of the country [1], and lived at or about the time of the siege of Troy. We have his own authority for saying, that he was not present when the two armies, after the secession of Achilles, were arrayed for battle; but he might be contemporary with the transaction though not on the spot. He mentions *The Public Cisterns* near the city, where the Trojan females had been accustomed to wash their linen before the arrival of the Greeks, as still remaining. A tale is related [2] of

[1] See Suidas, in v. Ῥωμη, p. 573. Stephan. Byzant. in v. Κυγχριαι.

[2] Hermias on the Phædon of Plato, cited by Leo Allatius. See Bayle *in Homer*.

him

him, not the only one of the sort which we shall have occasion to notice, that, keeping some sheep by the barrow of Achilles, he prevailed on him by supplication and offerings to *appear*; when the insufferable glory which surrounded the hero deprived him of his eye-sight. If I have reasoned rightly in a preceding chapter concerning Æneas, he flourished during the monarchy which succeeded to that of Priam, and which, if it did not expire before, was subverted or greatly curtailed after the arrival of the Æolians at Lesbos and Cuma.

The predictions, if they may be so termed, of the future kingdom of the Æncadæ, of the demolition of the Greek entrenchment, and of the death of Achilles, in the Ilias, must be regarded as of a date posterior to their accomplishment. It was easy for Homer to have, in like manner, recorded by anticipation the coming of the Æolian colonists, if it had happened before his time; and as he is silent respecting it, and any later occurrences or transactions, while he holds forth an increasing kingdom in the Tröia, recumbent on the house of Æneas, it may be inferred, that those spreading, though not hostile, aliens had then either not left their homes, or not reached this country.

We have here a strong argument from the Asian continent in favour of the opinion that Homer was prior as well to the return of the Heracleids into the Peloponnesus to which he has not even alluded, as to the Æolic migration, which was a consequence of it; since a son of Æneas ruling in the Tröia will co-incide as contemporary

temporary with Orestes son of Agamemnon; with whom yet reigning at Argos the Grecian history of Homer in the Odyssey ends [1].

The poems of Homer are said to have been first introduced into Greece from Ionia by the Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus; but it was Pisistratus, or rather his son Hipparchus [2], who was believed to have arranged the separate Cantos; and, by digesting and uniting them, to have compiled the Ilias and the Odyssey. The residence of the latter at Sigéum was likely to produce a knowlege of these compositions; or, if he had previous acquaintance, an intimacy with them; but who will say how long they had been extant and popular in Asia Minor before Lycurgus and Pisistratus?

In the Tröia, some of the places which had been desolated by the Greeks, afterwards revived; or were removed, either through the superstition of the people or for greater convenience, to other situations, mostly near the sea. Besides those already mentioned, some will occur within our limits, of more recent foundation; and some, which might be extant in the time of Homer, though unnoticed by him; and which, from circumstances attending or connected with their remote origin, afforded antiquaries matter of disquisition. The changes undergone by the country, and the new distribution of territory, which succeeded the war, could not be suddenly completed; and in certain cases, as in the instance of the Trojans of Polium, their commencement did not

[1] Mitford's History of Greece, v. II. 167. 172.

[2] Ælian, l. 8, l. 13. c. 4. Plutarch.

admit of being long delayed. But it does not appear that Homer had any knowlege of Poliium, of the cities which were erected on the Rhœtéan and Sigéan promontories, of the settlements by Æantéon or Achilléon, or of Eleûs; and his silence respecting these and other very antient places may be considered as an additional argument against the late age assigned to him by some writers.

CHAPTER XI.

I. *Occurrences under Darius.*—II. *Of a people called Teucri.*

I. IT is remarkable, that the Persians, laying claim to all Asia, alleged, we are told, as the occasion of their enmity to the Greeks, the hostile invasion of Priam and the destruction of Troy by Agamemnon. Cyrus, who overcame Crœsus king of Lydia, by whom the Æolians had been subdued, first obtained possession of the Tröia [1]. Darius ordered the cities on the coast of the Hellespont, and among them Abydos, to be burned, to prevent their furnishing vessels for an embarkation of the Scythians, who prepared, after having driven him out of Europe, to invade his dominions in Asia [2]. The Ionians revolting, their fleet sailed up the Hellespont, and seized on all the maritime cities there; but Daurises his son-in-law retook five of them in as many days, of

[1] Herodotus, lib. 1. [2] Strabo, p. 591.

which

which number were Abydos and Dardanus; the latter not the original city of the people called Dardani, which disappeared on the destruction of Troy, but a place on the coast, and of more recent foundation. Another of his Generals subdued as many of the Æolians as inhabited the Ilias or country of Ilium; and Gergithes [1] a city now first mentioned; and the remains of the antient Teucri. Tenedos and the islands surrendered to the Persian fleet [2].

II. Darius removed into Asia from Thrace a people called Pæones, which were, by their own account, a colony of the Trojan Teucri. These are twice coupled by Herodotus with the Gergithans, at or near whose city they had then their dwelling-place, if they were not rather the same people. They are principally known to us from Virgil. I shall not enter on an enquiry into their remoter origin; but they were firſt introduced into the Tröia as wandering adventurers from Crete, by an elegiac poet more antient than Archilochus, named Callinus. He related, and he had many followers, that an oracle had directed them to remain where the offspring of the earth should assail them; that this happened by Hamaxitus; where a multitude of field-mice, creeping forth at night, gnawed as many of their bucklers and utensils as were made of leather; that they tarried there, and that Mount Ida was called by them after the Cretan mountain. But others said, that no Teucri had come from Crete; that one

[1] See Strabo, p. 589, and Comment.

[2] Herodotus, l. v. vi.

Teucer had arrived there from Attica, from the borough of the Tröi afterwards named Xypeteon; and urged as a mark of the connection of the Trojans with the people of Attica, that both had an Erichthonius for one of their early leaders[1]. No mention is made of any Teucri by Homer, and his Teucer is a bastard brother of Ajax Telamon[2].

CHAPTER XII.

THE EXPEDITION OF XERXES.

I. *Of his bridge over the Hellespont and canal behind Mount Athos.* —II. *Of his arrival in the country of Ilium.*—III. *His departure, and passage into Europe.*—IV. *Remarks on Herodotus.* V. *Protesilaus mal-treated by Artäyctes.*—VI. *The battle of Salamis.*—VII. *Sestos taken, and Artäyctes punished.*

I. WHEN Xerxes, son of Darius, resolved to invade Greece, the cities of the Hellespont had their allotment of vessels to be furnished for the expedition. A bridge of boats was begun across the Strait of Abydos, to secure an easy and pleasant passage for the great king into Europe; was demolished by a storm; and finally completed with twelve hundred boats disposed in two rows; one to resist the strong current from the Propontis, the other to

[1] Strabo, p. 604, 648. [2] Il. 8, 284.

protect

protect that against the violence of winds blowing from the Ægæan sea. At the same time a canal, about twelve stadia long [1], and broad enough to admit two gallies abreast, was carried on behind Mount Athos; that his fleet might avoid the difficulty and danger which experience had shown was to be apprehended in doubling the promontory: men being sent from Eleûs, where the Persian triremes where stationed, to dig, in companies, which were relieved in turn, and assisted by the people living round about the mountain. The manner in which these two great works were conducted and accomplished is minutely described by a contemporary historian [2]; and I know not on what evidence the reality of any fact which has happened at a remote period can be established, if we allow, what I have somewhere read, that neither of them has had other existence than in imagination. The fosse then made remained for ages; and traces of it must still be visible, where I do not remember that any traveller has looked for it, on the isthmus by which the mountain is joined to the continent. This achievement of Xerxes has owed its celebrity in great measure to the novelty of the design. His canal was an undertaking as inferior to some of his Grace the Duke of Bridgewater in magnitude as in utility.

II. The Persian host, which leaving Sardes early in the spring had marched toward the Hellespont, was terrified, we are told by Herodotus [3], with portents and bad omens on its entering

[1] A mile and a half. [2] Herodotus, b. 7. [3] l. 7.

the

the Iliéan territory on the side next Antandros. During the night, as they remained beneath Mount Ida, a considerable number of them perished by thunder and lightning; and, on their coming to the Scamander, this river failed, the first since their setting out, in its current; not furnishing a sufficiency of water for their use; incidents, which, however then interpreted, contain no real matter of wonder. The one might be expected from the slender stream of an occasional torrent; and the other was the result of phænomena common to the climate, and frequent among the mountains, though not always attended with danger. On their arrival at the Scamander, Xerxes went up to *the Pergamum of Priam*, having a desire to see it; and, after viewing it and hearing all that was related concerning it, he sacrificed a thousand oxen to the Iliéan Minerva, whose priests, it is likely, served him as guides, and practised on his credulity and superstition.

III. Stories of spirits and apparitions were not less common in antient, than in modern times; and perhaps were more generally received without scepticism. Barrows, and graves, and sepulchres were seldom approached with indifference. The heroes, in particular, were accounted irascible, and dangerous, and ready to do harm rather than good. The vicinity of the Pergamum of Priam was a region of terror; and, if Xerxes tried to render the Iliéan Minerva propitious, the Magi were not less solicitous to promote benignity among the Heroes; but their libations were not productive of any good effect; for, when they had finished, fear, while it was night, fell on the camp. Mount Ida and the Scamander had already

already been adverse to the Persians; and, a panic seizing them, at day-break they suddenly departed thence, keeping on their left Rhœtéum the city and Ophryneum (of which places this is the first mention) and Dardanus, "which now, says the historian, is bordering on Abydos;" and on their right, Gergithes and the Teucri, a circumstance which may help to point out the situation of this place and people in the Tröia. A prominent seat of white stone had been provided at Abydos on a hill fit for the purpose, and looking down from thence, Xerxes beheld his vast army and navy; all the shores, and the plains of the Abydenes full of his men, and the whole Hellespont covered with his vessels. For his passing into Europe the causey on the bridge of boats was strewed with myrtle, and the air scented with perfumes. He poured a libation on the water, and, having invoked the rising Sun, threw the golden cup or goblet into the sea. The mighty host continued crossing seven days and nights without intermission [1].

IV. A traveller as well as an historian, Herodotus was acquainted with the Tröia. He has observed that a certain plain in Egypt, skirted by mountains, appeared to him to have been formerly an inlet of the sea, as did also other plains, *those about Ilium* and Teuthrania (a region by the river Cäicus [2], of which I have not met with any modern account) those about Ephesus, and the plain of the Mæander [3]. He could have told us what

[1] Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus.

[2] Strabo.

[3] L. ii. c. 10. See Pliny, Nat. Hist. II. 85.

the

the condition of the Trojan country then was, what it possessed worthy of curiosity, or likely, besides its antient renown, to excite the reverence of the great king; and more especially is it to be wished, that he had given particular information, instead of leaving us in uncertainty, about his Ilium and Pergamum of Priam. But to return to our subject.

V. When Xerxes arrived at Sestos Artäyctes was the Persian governor of that district; in which was the city Eleûs, and near it Protesiléon or the barrow of its pátron-hero Protesilaus, with his shrine and temple, which was rich in phials of gold and silver, in brass, raiment, and other offerings of great value; as also his sacred portion, or the land allotted to him for its support. "Knowing, says Herodotus, that the Persians esteem all Asia to belong to them and to him that reigneth for ever," he said to the king, "Lord, there is here the house of a Greek, who was killed, meeting with justice, in invading your country. Give it to me, that no one may in future dare to follow his example." The monarch assented. Artäyctes stripped and insulted Protesilaus, caused all his pretious effects to be removed to Sestos, his sacred portion to be sown and fed; and, going in person to Eleûs, defiled the sanctuary of the temple with women [1]. Whether he cut down the trees, or whether any were then standing, on the barrow, we are not informed; but there in after times was a grove of great antiquity, composed of elms, which have been celebrated

[1] L. vii. l. ix.

by

by poets, and noticed by writers, of different and distant ages; it being affirmed and believed, that when they had grown up into view of Ilium, which was opposite on the other side of the Hellespont, they withered at the top; and, shooting out again, increased and decayed, and thus continually perished and were renewed; furnishing the ignorant and credulous with matter of wonder. Several authors, seeming to discover in them an apparent aversion to Ilium, and connecting it with the story of Protesilaus, have given an ingenious interpretation of phænomena, which were mere accidents of vegetation, occurring regularly, and occasioned by the nature or depth of the soil, or by the aspect, not as open to Ilium, but to the sun, the sea, and the wind. But to return again to our subject.

VI. The Æacidæ, or descendants of Æacus, now ranked among the most renowned Dæmons and Demigods of Greece. A fleet, to oppose that of Xerxes, was assembled under Themistocles at Salamis, the island of which Ajax Telamon, who had led its forces against Troy, was the patron-hero. All the Greek nation invoked him, and their commander sent a vessel to bring the whole family (their images, I apprehend,) from Ægina, where Æacus had reigned, to join the confederacy. Ajax, and Achilles, and other of their defunct warriors were believed to have been present in the famous battle, which followed, and to have contributed in no small degree to the signal victory of that memorable day. A Phœnician trireme galley, one of the articles first selected from among the spoils for offerings of gratitude to the

Gods, was dedicated to Ajax in Salamis, where he had a temple. Miltiades, who commanded the Athenian army at Marathon, was descended from him [1].

VII. The Greek fleet arriving in the Hellespont, not in time to intercept the retreat of Xerxes and after the removal of the bridge of boats, the people of the Chersonesus crouded into Sestos, as the strongest of the fortresses there. The Athenians, who then occupied Abydos, laid siege to the place; in which, as it was filled with the Æolian inhabitants and the garrison, a famine ensued. The Persians endeavoured to escape by night over the wall. At day-break, it was signified to the Athenians from the towers, that the posts were abandoned; and some of them entered the gates, which were opened, while others pursued the flying enemy. The Persian governor was among the prisoners brought back bound to Sestos. I omit the tale of a salted fish leaping on some coals of fire, like one just taken alive, and his interpretation of the prodigy, as an invention of the people of the Chersonesus by whom it was related. That he made an offer of an hundred talents as an atonement to Protesilaus, and of double the sum to the Athenians, if they would spare his life and that of his son, is more credible; as also, that it was not accepted; the citizens of Eleûs requiring that the hero should be avenged. Artäyctes was led forth to the sea-shore where Xerxes had joined Europe to Asia; or, as some said, to the hill above Madytos (a city near Sestos of which the most early mention is in Herodotus); and, a stake

[1] Herodotus l. viii. Pausanias.

being

being fixed in the ground, he was suspended alive; while his son was stoned to death before his eyes. The misfortunes of this man were imputed to his impiety, and he was believed to have suffered from the anger of Protesilaus [1]. And now farewell Herodotus [2]! We must seek information from other sources, and shall find little before the commencement of the Peloponnesian war.

CHAPTER XIII.

TO THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

I. *Of Pausanias and Themistocles.*—II. *Of Ilium.*—III. *Notice to the Reader.*

I. PAUSANIAS, the Spartan regent and general, was accused of a treasonable conspiracy against the liberties of Greece in conjunction with Themistocles its late defender, who was banished from Athens. At Colonæ in the Troas, first mentioned by Thucydides [3], he received and obeyed an order from the government of Lacedæmon to accompany the messenger, an herald; who conducted him back to prison. Themistocles afterwards took refuge in the court of Persia, where Artaxerxes bestowed on him, according to some authors [4], Palæscepsis or Old Scepsis (which was

[1] Herodotus l. vii. l. ix. Pausanias.
[2] Χαιρέτω. See Mr. Bryant.
[3] L. i.
[4] Plutarch, in his Life.

among the places remaining under the Persian dominion) to provide him with clothes and bedding. This was the Homeric city, so called to distinguish it from New Scepsis, the birth-place of other great men and of the Demetrius [1] whose curious researches give him a just title to be mentioned always with respect.

II. We have other evidence, besides that of Herodotus, to prove the existence of an Ilium at the time of the Persian expedition; the testimony of an historian his contemporary, Hellanicus of Lesbos, quoted by Strabo [2]. We shall find, as we proceed, that the tutelary Goddess of this Ilium, as of the Homeric, was Minerva; and that the people believed their image of her to have been the Palladium of Troy. Their patron-hero was Hector; of whom, as of many other famous men, a likeness had been furnished or rather feigned by the painters and sculptors of antiquity. His comeliness is extolled by Homer [3]; and Plutarch [4] has cited an author [5], who related that a young Lacedæmonian, being reported to resemble him, was trampled under foot by the multitude running, as soon as they knew it, to behold him.

III. This Ilium, rising gradually out of obscurity, appears at first as it were dimly; in company with other places of the Tröia, from which it cannot easily be detached so as to be treated of separately. The reader is therefore requested to notice the mention of it, when it occurs, particularly in the succinct narrative, which will follow, of events in the Peloponnesian war connected

[1] Strabo p. 607. [2] P. 601. [3] Il. χ'. 370.
[4] In the Life of Aratus. [5] Myrsilus. He is cited by Strabo.

with

with the country, which is our subject. And here I advertise him, that though Homer uses the appellation Ilium or Troy indifferently to denote the same place, I shall, to avoid repetition or confusion, when the latter name occurs, mean by it the city of the Ilias; and when the former, this which succeeded it; of which the people were called by the Greeks *Ilieis*, Iliéans, (a name, as Eustathius[1] has remarked, not found in Homer, who has instead of it, Troes, *Trojans)*; and by the Romans, Ilienses, *Iliensians*.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FIRST PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

I. *Abydos and Sestos strong-holds of the contending parties.*—II. *The Peloponnesian fleet at Eleûs.*—III. *Sea-fight by Cynossema.*—IV. *Action near Dardanus, battle of Abydos, and destruction of the Peloponnesian fleet.*—V. *Destruction of the Athenian fleet and end of the war.*

I. AT the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, all the cities of the Hellespont and Chersonesus were among the tributary subjects of the Athenian republic; but Abydos, being a colony of the Milesians, who were then under the Persians, allies of the Lacedæmonians, revolted on the approach of Dercyllidas, a

[1] Il. β'.

Spartan,

Spartan, who was sent to form a treaty with Pharnabazus, the Persian Satrap of the adjoining provinces. The Peloponnesian fleet had its station there; while the Athenians, unable to reduce the city, held Sestos for their garrison and the safe-guard of the Strait.

II. Of the hostile fleets, two lay at the island of Lesbos; of which the people, from the consideration of their Æolian extraction, sided with the Lacedæmonian alliance, except the city of Methymna; which, with Tenedos, its neighbour, was in the interest of Athens. The Peloponnesian Admiral, Mindarus, on his departure from Eresus for Abydos, steered, to avoid the enemy, along the Asian coast toward the Hellespont; put into port to breakfast, dine, and sup, as the usage then was; embarked his men in the night, and having again landed to dine, opposite to Methymna, proceeded hastily on his voyage, in the afternoon; sailed by Lectos, and Larissa and Hamaxitus, both now first mentioned, and by the towns there; and arrived at Rhœtéum before midnight; some of his vessels stopping at Sigéum and the places adjacent. The centinels at Sestos, seeing (Thucydides[1] does not say fire-signals, though he has been so translated, but) fires in the country of the enemy, lighted, it is natural to suppose, for the uses of the Peloponnesians on their landing, gave the alarm, and the Athenian fleet, consisting of eighteen triremes, which lay in the harbour, came down hastily to Elcûs, and, being attacked

[1] L. viii. c. 102.

there

there, escaped to Lemnos, and the continent of Europe, with the loss of four taken; one with its crew, having been forced ashore opposite the temple of Protesilaus.

III. The Athenian commanders at Lesbos, on receiving intelligence that the Peloponnesians were in the Hellespont, immemediately followed them; and, on their way, fell in with and captured two of their triremes, which had pursued their late victory with more eagerness than caution. On the second day they arrived at Eleûs. On their approach, Mindarus, abandoning the siege, had joined the squadron lying at Abydos; when his fleet consisted of eighty-six triremes. The Athenian commanders [1] had only sixty-eight, but resolved to offer battle. They employed five days in the harbour of Eleûs in preparations, and then advanced towards Sestos in a line, ranging along the European side of the Hellespont from Idacos to Arriani (names of places which I have not met with in any antient writer but Thucydides [2]). The Peloponnesians reached from Abydos as far as Dardanus. The Athenians having extended their line to avoid being taken in flank by the more numerous enemy, were weak in the centre; and fifteen of the triremes were driven ashore by the Peloponnesians, who landed and destroyed them; the coast about Cynossema having a sharp and angular turning, which concealed what passed there from the rest of their fleet; but Thrasybulus, who commanded their right, taking advantage of the disorder which

[1] Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus.

[2] L. viii. c. 105.

attended

attended this success, and being supported by Thrasyllus, the Lacedæmonians fled first toward the river Rodius, and thence back to Abydos, with the loss of twenty-one ships. They sent heralds to desire that the bodies of their slain might be restored to them. The Athenians set up a trophy on the head-land or point, which, says Thucydides [1], is called Cynos-sema, *The monument of the Britch.* This was the name and place of the barrow of Queen Hecuba; of which mention is made about the same time by the poet Euripides.

IV. A squadron of fourteen triremes entering the Hellespont at dawn of day, the Athenians were again apprized of the approach of an enemy by their centinels at Sestos. The Peloponnesian commander Dorieus seeing, when near Abydos, twenty triremes coming down to oppose him, retreated toward the Dardanian cape, and, on opening Rhœtéum, drew up so near the shore that they fought from it and from their vessels, the garrison of Dardanus assisting in their defence; until the Athenians, foiled in their attempt, set sail to return to Madytos, where they had a camp. Mindarus, who was a spectator of this action from the neighbouring town of Ilium (on or near the site of antient Troy, says Mr. Mitford,) where he was sacrificing to Minerva, hastened back to Abydos, drew down his triremes, and effected a junction with the new comers [2]. The Athenians then descending with their whole fleet from Sestos, a battle followed; in which the

[1] L. viii. Diodorus Siculus.

[2] Xenophon and Diodorus Siculus.

superior

superior skill of their pilots was displayed in gaining by their manœuvres the advantage of the tide. The contest was maintained, the greatest part of the day, with various success. Toward the evening, a squadron of eighteen triremes was seen entering the Hellespont from the Ægæan. This was commanded by Alcibiades, a descendant, it may be here mentioned, of Eurysaces son of Ajax Telamon, and through him from Jupiter[1]. The Peloponnesians fled toward Abydos; but were driven to the shore, and compelled to fight from it and their triremes; when Pharnabazus, their ally, nobly supported them with a land-force, riding at the head of his cavalry as far into the water as his horse would carry him. The crews mostly escaped; but the Athenians carried off thirty of the vessels. Afterwards, Mindarus, being re-inforced and having sixty triremes, resolved to attack the Athenian fleet of forty stationed at Sestos; but this withdrew by night. He then, with the assistance of Pharnabazus, reduced Cyzicus. Meanwhile the Athenian fleet returned to Sestos, with a re-inforcement of six triremes under Alcibiades, who attacked him by surprise. Mindarus was slain, and his fleet destroyed; when Pharnabazus sent the officers to Antandros, to superintend the building of other vessels at the southern foot of Mount Ida, where timber abounded. The Antandrians were then raising walls for the defence of their town.

V. Of the Hellespontic cities, Abydos alone had not been retaken, when Lysander, General of the Lacedæmonian con-

[1] Plato in Alcibiades. Plutarch, in his Life.

federacy, arrived there and again made its harbour the station of their fleet. The Athenian commanders, who followed him, were informed at Eleûs, where they dined, that he was at Lampsacus. They proceeded to Sestos, took in provisions for the night, and in the evening came to Aigospotami, overagainst Lampsacus, where they supped. The strait there was scarcely two miles wide. There was neither town nor harbour, yet they formed there a naval camp. The gallies were hauled up on the beach, or at anchor near it. The men had as far as Sestos, which was two miles off, to go for a market, and often wandered about the country. Alcibiades, who had great possessions in the Chersonesus, interposed in vain with salutary counsel. Lysander unexpectedly attacked them. One hundred and seventy of the Athenian triremes were taken, and few escaped. A Milesian vessel was dispatched with the news of this great event, and arrived in the port of Lacedæmon on the third day. The Hellespontine and other cities submitted to Lysander [1]. He expelled people of Sestos, and divided the city and the adjacent territory among his seamen; but the Spartans, displeased at this severity, directed that they should be restored [2]. The surrender of Athens to the Peloponnesians followed; seven hundred seventy-nine years, says Diodorus [3], after the destruction of Troy. On the conclusion of the war, the Asian Greeks became subjects of the king of Persia, the ally of Lacedæmon.

[1] Xenophon, Hist. l. i. c. i. l. 20.

[2] Plutarch in Lysander.

[3] L. 13.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XV.

THE SECOND PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

I. *Passage of the Cyreian Greeks through the Tröia.*—II. *The Tröia under the Persians.*—III. *Recovered for the Lacedæmonians.*—IV. *Ambush of the Athenians near Abydos.*—V. *End of the war.*

I. WHEN the army of Greek mercenaries employed by Cyrus in his expedition into Persia was on its return homeward, Timasion, an exile of Dardanum, one of the Generals whom they had chosen, proposed, with a view to his own restoration, the plundering of the rich satrapy of Pharnabazus, of which the Tröia was a portion. When Seuthes, a Thracian prince, on engaging them in his service, gave an entertainment, Timasion, as it was usual to carry presents, took from his store of Asiatic spoil a silver cup, and a Persian carpet of the value of forty pounds sterling[r]. On their return into Asia, they landed at Lampsacus, and the following day marched to Ophrynium, where Xenophon, admonished by a friend, sacrificed, as had been formerly his custom, to Jupiter Meilichius, according to the antient Attic rites. From thence they passed through the Tröia, and having

[r] See Mitford.

crossed over Ida, came to Antandros, the plain of Thebe, and Pergamum, on their way to join the army of the Lacedæmonians, who were then at war with Persia[2].

II. Zenis, a Greek of Dardanum, had been appointed by Pharnabazus to be governor, or "according to Xenophon[3]," says Mr. Mitford[3], "Satrap of that fine country so interesting in earliest history, as the kingdom of Priam and the seat of the Trojan war." He dying, Pharnabazus conferred his office, the presidency of the Æolis, on his widow Mania, likewise a Dardanian, who, with equal ability held for him the strong-holds already in their possession; and, raising a body of Greek mercenaries, acquired, of the cities, which did not obey him, the maritime (so termed, I suppose, to distinguish them from the cities on Mount Ida), Larissa, Hamaxitus, and Colonæ; having approached their walls with a Greek token of hospitality. This extraordinary woman was murdered in her palace by the husband of her daughter, Meidias, who destroyed her son, and then solicited Pharnabazus to confer on him the government, which she had held; but he refused the proffered presents with generous indignation, and declared his resolution to punish her assassin. Meidias seized on Scepsis and Gergis[4], strong towns, in which the chief treasures of Mania were deposited; but the other places in the Troia were preserved by their garrisons for Pharnabazus.

[2] Xenophon, Anab. l. 3. l. 5. l. 7.

[3] V. 3. p. 210.

[2] Hellen. l. 3.

[4] The same as Gergithes, p. 43.

III. The

III. The General of the Lacedæmonian army in Asia Minor, Dercyllidas, who was at enmity with Pharnabazus, covenanted, in a treaty with the Persian governor Tissaphernes, to be allowed a passage into Æolia. When he arrived on the borders, immediately, in one day, Larissa, Hamaxitus, and Colonæ complied with his summons. He promised complete emancipation from the dominion of Persia to the Æolian cities, and exhorted them to receive him within their walls, and to join him in the common cause of Grecian liberty. The Neandrians and Cocylitæ are now first noticed by Xenophon. The former were a people distant a few miles inland from Ilium. Of the Cocylitæ, or of a place named Cocylus, no mention is made by any other antient author; and, I apprehend, we should read Cotylitæ, the dwellers on Mount Cotylus, as the name stands in Strabo[1]; a summit of Mount Ida above Scepsis. These, with the Iliéans submitted; the Greeks in their garrisons, which had been attached to Mania, not being equally well affected to Pharnabazus. The governor of Cebren, which was a very strong and antient place on the side of Ilium next Lectos, refused to surrender; but the inhabitants opened their gates on the approach of Dercyllidas. He then proceeded against Scepsis and Gergis. The Scepsians admitting him, he ordered the garrison to quit the citadel, and sacrificed there to Minerva, assembled the people, and restored the town to them; admonishing them so to govern it as became Greeks and freemen.

[1] P. 602.

At

At Gergis the men on the towers, which were very lofty, seeing Meidias, to whom he had granted conditions of alliance, advance with him, did not make use of their missile weapons, but, by his order, opened the gates; when they both entered, and, going together to the citadel, sacrificed to Minerva. Dercyllidas, having thus in eight days recovered nine cities, proposed a truce, which was accepted by Pharnabazus.

IV. The other powers of Greece uniting against Lacedæmon, the Athenians joined the confederacy, and, after a great victory obtained by their fleet under Pharnabazus and Conon, met with resistance in the Hellespont only from two cities, Sestos and Abydos, which received the fugitive colonists of the Chersonesus within their walls. Abydos was defended by Dercyllidas, who continued to preserve for the Lacedæmonians that relic of their empire in Asia, when two new commanders were sent to the Hellespont, Anaxibius from Lacedæmon, Iphicrates from Athens. "A proposal to revolt coming to Anaxibius from a party in Antandros, he led thither the greater part of his force, consisting of Abydenes, mercenaries, and the Lacedæmonian governors, with their followers, who had taken refuge in Abydos with Dercyllidas. Iphicrates, informed of this movement, crossed the Hellespont in the night, landed on the Asiatic shore, and directing his march toward Cremastë on the highlands of Ida, where, says Xenophon[1], were the gold mines of the Antandrians, he took a station commodious

[1] Hellen. l. 4. c. 8. l. 37.

for

for intercepting the Lacedæmonians on their return. His squadron hastened back to Sestos, and, at day-break, according to orders given, moved up the Hellespont toward the Propontis. It was seen from the Asiatic shore, holding that course, and the feint completely deceived Anaxibius; who, in the persuasion that Iphicrates was gone on some expedition to the northward, marched in full security. He no sooner saw the Athenian infantry, so well was the ambuscade planned, than he saw his own defeat inevitable[1]." He was killed; and his army was pursued, with considerable slaughter, to the very walls of Abydos. I have met with no other mention of Cremastè or the gold mines of the Antandrians; and suspect those of Astyra[2], which were toward Abydos, to have been intended by Xenophon.

V. A fleet of twenty-five triremes was sent from Ephesus by Antalcidas, the Lacedæmonian commander in Asia, to oppose Iphicrates; who, after their arrival, blockaded with a greater number the harbour of Abydos. Antalcidas then hastened thither by land; captured eight triremes coming from Thrace, and collected a naval force so superior that the Athenians could not contend with it. A general peace was concluded in the nineteenth year after the battle of Aigospotami; when it was settled that the Greek cities of Asia should all return to their obedience to the Emperor of Persia[3].

[1] Mitford, v. 3. p. 306. [2] See Strabo.

[3] Polybius, l. 1. Strabo, l. 6. p. 287. Diodorus Siculus, l. 14.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XVI.

I. *Conduct of Charidemus Orites.*—II. *Of his taking Ilium by stratagem.*—III. *Adventure of Æschines at Ilium.*

I. THE Athenians, while they were at war with Philip king of Macedonia, were attacked in the Chersonesus by Cotys, king of Thrace. Charidemus of Oreus, a town in Eubæa, a soldier of fortune, was General of the foreign army in the service of the Republic. On his dismission, he passed into Asia; where he was hired by the party of Artabazus, who had revolted from king Ochus, but was then a prisoner. Ilium, Scepsis, and Cebren, regarding him as a friend, suffered him to enter. Having them in his power, he held them as his own, and continued within their walls, though he was not provided with necessaries, nor had any maritime place, by which he might be supplied, until Artabazus, having obtained his liberty, approached with an army, which he could not oppose. He then from Abydos (*ever hostile*, it is said, to the Athenians) crossed over to Sestos, of which city Cotys was in possession; and, serving him, laid siege to Eleûs. Afterward the king of Thrace purchased the alliance of the Republic by the surrender of the Chersonesus [1].

[1] Demosthenes against Aristocrates. Diodorus Siculus, l. 16.

II. Æneas

II. Æneas, a very antient Greek writer on Tactics, has related [1], that Charidemus obtained possession of Ilium in the following manner. He had learned that a servant of the Archon or Governor was accustomed to go out of the town to plunder, and to return with his booty, commonly in the night. This man, with whom he procured a clandestine interview and made a bargain, came forth at an appointed hour on horseback, as they had agreed; for otherwise his way would have been through a postern, by which only a single person could pass. He went back with about thirty soldiers in armour, but disguised and concealing their daggers, shields, and helmets; and with women and children, as captives. The city-gate being opened to admit the horse, they killed the guard, and let in Charidemus [2]. The town thus taken was in danger of being immediately lost. A General, who opposed him and was not far off, being apprised of the attack, advanced by a different way, under favour of the night, entered the gate, during the tumult, with his troops; and the word of one party happening to be *Dioscuri*, and that of the other *Tyndaridæ*, his purpose, owing to this double appellation of the deities Castor and Pollux, was nearly effected before he was discovered to be an enemy.

[1] Comment. Tactic. et Obsidional. v. 2. p. 1685.

[2] This stratagem is related with some variation by Polyænus, l. 3, *end.* In his account the horse is given by Charidemus to be conducted into the city with other feigned plunder.

Plutarch, who has observed that some persons are pleased with incidents bearing a resemblance to each other, cites for an example the taking of Ilium thrice by means, or on account, of horses, by Hercules, the Greeks, and Charidemus [1]; and an allusion to the same circumstance is contained in a Latin epigram, made on one Asellus, who, I suppose, not understanding or not relishing the Ilias had committed it to the flames.

Carminis Iliaci libros consumpsit Asellus;
Hoc fatum Trojæ est, aut Equus aut Asinus [2].

III. I shall now give an abstract of one of the Epistles [3], which are ascribed to the famous orator Æschines. The author relates, that, after leaving Athens, he had arrived at Ilium, where he had intended to stay until he should have gone through all the verses in the Ilias on the very spot to which they severally had reference; but was prevented by the misconduct of his fellow-traveller, a young rake, named Cimon. It was the custom, he tells us, for maidens who were betrothed to repair on a certain day to bathe in the Scamander. Among them was, at this time, a damsel of illustrious family called Callirrhoe. Æschines, with their relations and the multitude, was a spectator of as much of the ceremony as was allowed to be seen, at a due distance; but Cimon, who had conceived a bad design against this lady, personating the River-

[1] In the life of Sertorius.

[2] See Wood. Essay on Homer, p. 340.

[3] The tenth.

God

God and wearing a crown of reeds, lay concealed in a thicket; until she, as was usual, invoked Scamander to receive the offer, which she made, of herself to him. He then leaped forth, saying, "I Scamander most willingly accept of Callirrhoe," and, with many promises of kindness, imposed on and abused her simplicity and credulity. Four days after this ceremony, a public festival was held in honour of Venus, when the females, whose nuptials had been recently celebrated, appeared in the procession. Æschines was again a spectator, and Cimon with him; to whom Callirrhoe, on seeing him, respectfully bowed her head, as she passed by; and, casting her eyes on her nurse, told her, that was the God Scamander. A discovery followed. The two companions got to their lodging and quarrelled; a croud gathered about the gate of the house; and Æschines with difficulty made his escape by the back-door to a place of security. It is proper to mention here, that these Epistles are not regarded as genuine by the learned; and this, in particular, though it is stiled an authentic and impartial narrative by Mr. Gibbon [1], ill accords, it has been remarked, with the grave dignity of the rival of Demosthenes.

[1] History, v. 3, p. 85, *note*. He refers to Bayle, *Scamander*.

CHAPTER XVII.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

I. *His descent.*—II. *He invades Asia.*—III. *Visits Ilium and the tombs of the Heroes.*—IV. *His departure, and kindness to the Ilieans.*—V. *His regard for Homer, and imitations of Achilles.*

I. IMMEDIATE, as well as lineal descendants from deities, even of the highest class, continued, long after Homer, to be no very remarkable rarities in Greece and Asia. Alexander the Great was the reputed son of Jupiter by Olympias. Another lady, who pretended or believed that she had been pregnant by a God, furnished the Seleucidæ, one of the families which divided his dominions, with Apollo for their progenitor. If Alexander was the son of Philip, and not of *Supreme* Jupiter, he derived his pedigree from Hercules, and was of the family of Æacus, into which Andromache the wife of Hector had married after her captivity. The plan which his ambition pursued was that of his mortal father; to make conquests on earth. As General of Greece he waged war with the Persians under the pretext of avenging their repeated invasions of that country.

II. The army of Alexander passed the Hellespont at the Strait of Abydos, and encamped by the *noble* Arisbe of Homer; of which

which the site, except its having been toward Lampsacus, was uncertain in the time of Strabo[1]. One of his commanders had an engagement with the Persians in the Tröia, and was compelled to retire to Rhœtéum[2]. Alexander went from Sestos to visit the barrow of Protesilaus and to sacrifice to that hero. He crossed from Eleûs with sixty vessels to the Port of the Achæans, which was opposite. He sacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereids, when he was mid-way on the water; and, as Xerxes had done before him, poured a libation from a cup of gold, but I find no mention of his having thrown it into the sea. When he came near the shore, he cast a javelin, which standing fixed in the ground, he leaped, in complete armour, out of the vessel; and, like one dancing[3], I suppose to testify joy at the omen, signified, that with his spear he, by the favour of the Gods, took possession of Asia. They raised altars where he embarked, and also where, with better fortune than Protesilaus, he had landed in the country of the enemy; and when the victims were slain, he prayed that these realms might receive him willingly for their king[4].

III. Ilium, to which Alexander went up from the Port of the Achæans, was then a village with a small and mean temple of Minerva[5]. On his arrival there, crowns of gold were placed on his head by his pilot, by Chares an Athenian from Sigéum, and by other Greeks and Asiatics. He sacrificed to Minerva; and

[1] P. 590.
[2] Arrian, Exped. l. 1.
[3] Justin. l. xi. c. 5.
[4] Diodorus Siculus, l. 17.
[5] Strabo, p. 593.

viewed

viewed attentively the Antiquities and Curiosities. On the altar of Jupiter *Hercéus*, or *of the Courtile*, (whose statue, carried away by the Greeks, continued to be shown at Argos in the time of Pausanias [1],) he poured libations to Priam; praying, that the vengeance which had overtaken Neoptolemus [2], who, after killing him at it, was slain at the altar of Apollo at Delphi, might not be extended to his progeny, and fall on him as one of his descendants. He rejected the lyre of Paris, which an Iliéan offered him, if he chose to accept of it; saying, that he had no need of it, as he possessed the harp with which Achilles had been solaced, chanting to it the exploits of famous men; while the lyre of Paris had tinkled only a certain soft and feminine harmony, the accompaniment of amorous songs [3]. He was desirous of seeing the tombs of the heroes. He performed rites and made offerings at them, especially at those of Achilles and Ajax Telamon [4], descendants of Æacus. He adorned the barrow of Achilles, whom he regarded as his ancestor, with choice flowers, anointed the stela or pillar on it with sweet perfumes, and, with his companions, ran naked, as the custom was, round it. In an address to the hero, he insisted on the felicity which had attended him, on his having had a faithful friend, while living; and a famous poet to celebrate his exploits after his decease. "What a number

[1] Corinth. l. 2. [2] Messen. l. 4.

[3] Plutarch. Of the fortune of Alexander, l. 1. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 9. c. 38. See Bayle in *Achilles*.

[4] Diodorus Siculus, l. 17.

of

of writers of his actions, says Cicero in his defence of Archias [1], is Alexander reported to have had in his retinue; and yet, when he stood by the barrow of Achilles at Sigeum, he said, "O fortunate young man, who hast found an Homer to be the herald of thy valour!" And justly, for unless the Ilias had existed, the tomb which covered his body would have been that likewise of his renown." Hephæstion, the favourite of Alexander, bestowed his garlands on Patroclus; intimating, that he bore the like relation to Alexander; the king honouring the king, the friend his friend, in their common sepulchre [2].

IV. The Iliéans were too liberal of omens, which cost them nothing, to omit providing the monarch with a store of good ones, when he was about to leave them. On his coming to the sacred portion of their Goddess, the priest who offered sacrifice, and who was named Alexander, met him; and, having found, as he declared, the statue of a former Satrap of Phrygia lying prostrate in the area before the temple, (probably thrown down for the purpose), and also observed favourable prognostics in augury, assured him, that he would gain a victory by his cavalry; especially if he gave battle in Phrygia; and that, fighting in the ranks, he would kill a great commander of the enemy; for these events were pre-signified by the Gods, and particularly by Minerva, who would contribute to his good fortune [3]. The king was pleased with the pre-

[1] C. x.

[2] Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 12. c. 7. Fabretti on the Iliac Table, p. 336.

[3] Diodorus Siculus.

diction,

diction, and doubtless rewarded the Prophet as well as the Goddess, whom he regaled on the occasion with a costly sacrifice. Also he dedicated to her his own armour; taking in lieu of it from her temple some of that yet saved, they said, (but the report Mr. Bryant assures us was certainly without foundation [1]) from the Trojan war [2]; and to it he thrice owed his life in the battle of the Granicus; after which he returned, adorned the temple with offerings, ordered Curators to repair the buildings, and raised Ilium to the rank of a city, which he declared free and exempt from tribute. Moreover, when he had subdued the Persians, he wrote a kind letter to the people, promising to make their city great, and the temple famous, and to introduce Sacred Games [3] to be held there; and, on the inspection of his memorandum-book, after his decease, it appeared that he had intended to erect at Ilium a temple of Minerva not inferior to any in splendour and magnificence.

VI. Alexander is said to have studied the poems of Homer; to have revised them with the assistance of Callisthenes and Anaxarchus, two Philosophers and Critics who accompanied him in his expedition; and to have deposited the copy, with their remarks, in a box of admirable beauty and great value found among the pretious spoils of king Darius; from which a certain edition was afterwards called that of the casket [4]. At the funeral of Hephæs-

[1] Dissertation, p. 5.

[2] Arrian. Expedit. l. 1.

[3] Strabo, p. 593. Arrian.

[4] Strabo, p. 594. See Comment. Plutarch in his Life.

tion,

tion, he and his companions cut off their hair, as Achilles and his Myrmidons had done at that of Patroclus; and, after the example, as he boasted, of his great ancestor, he dragged the brave defender of Gaza tied to the tail of his chariot about the city [1]. But this is not the usage which Hector experiences in the Ilias. Achilles is not there described as dragging him about Troy, but from the spot where he was killed to the ships, and afterwards, thrice for several mornings, encompassing the barrow, which he had caused to be made for Patroclus, with the body so fastened. The other atrocity is imputed to him by Euripides [2]; and not, as Mr. Bayle [3] has supposed, first by Virgil, though he, and not he alone, has adopted the spurious tale with increase of the outrage.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE TRÖIA UNDER THE SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.

I. *Of Ilium and Alexandréa Troas.*—II. *Of Scepsis.*—III. *Of Chrysa.*—IV. *Of the barrow of Ilus.*—V. *Of a plain on Lectos.*—VI. *Of the arrival of Antiochus the first at Ilium.*

I. AMID the contests of the Generals of Alexander the Great for dominion, after his decease, Lysimachus first obtained Thrace and its vicinity in Europe. Passing afterwards with an

[1] Q. Curtius, l. 4. [2] In Andromache. [3] In *Achilles.*

army into Asia, he invaded Antigonus, reduced and placed a garrison in Sigéum, and got possession of the country [1]. It was he, who chiefly, after Alexander, took care of Ilium. He rebuilt the temple; encircled the town, as much as forty stadia [2], with a wall; and collected into it the inhabitants of the old cities round about it, which had gone to decay. It was he likewise [3] who took care of Alexandréa in the Troas, which had been already peopled by Antigonus, and called Antigonia; but he changed that appellation from malice to his rival masqued under the pretext that the successors of Alexander, building cities, ought, in the first instance, to give his name a preference to their own. What places were depopulated to increase the number of Iliéans we are not told; but Antigonus had transferred to Alexandréa the Scepsians, Cebrenians, and Neandrians, the inhabitants of Colonæ, Chrysa, Larissa, and other inconsiderable towns and strong-holds in that neighbourhood, and had annexed to it their respective territories [4]; also whether it was he or Lysimachus who instituted Games at Ilium, according to the design of Alexander, is not mentioned; but Lycon of Troas, as Alexandréa was also called, a celebrated school-master at Athens and famous for his eloquence, was said, not long after, to have contended in his own country, and as a wrestler, and as a thrower of the sphere or

[1] Diodorus Siculus, l. 18.

[2] Five miles.

[3] Strabo, p. 593. For ὅτι *quando* I read ὅ, τι *ille etiam.* The name *Troas*, Mr. Bryant informs us, was not known until the building of this city. Dissertation, p. 51.

[4] P. 597, 607.

bowl,

bowl, at the Iliéan Games[1]. The Tenedians, too weak to be independent, attached themselves to the Alexandrines[2] their more powerful neighbours; and the new city became the principal, if not the sole, place of any consequence between Sigéum and Lectos. From this æra the Tröia has remained a region of solitude and ruins.

II. Demetrius related concerning Scepsis, that it was founded, and that the people had removed into it, under Scamandrius son of Hector and Ascanius son of Æneas; that the monarchy established in these two families had been succeeded, after a long continuance, by an oligarchy; which, a colony of Milesians becoming co-citizens, yielded to a democracy; but that the title of kings had remained to their descendants, and that they had enjoyed certain honours down to the time of the removal of the people by Antigonus; his zeal for its antiquity and glory, as Strabo has observed, overcoming in this instance his reverence for the authority of Homer, by whom the race of Priam is declared in the Ilias about to be extinct; moreover, that the Scepsians were permitted to return to their own country by Lysimachus; but that the Cebrenians, with whom, separated only by the river Scamander, they had been always at war and enmity, were retained with the other people at Alexandréa. Scepsis recovered in some degree

[1] Diogenes Laertius in his Life. He succeeded Strato in his School in the 127th Olympiad.

[2] Pausanias p. 330.

its pristine consequence; and Theophrastus, a pupil of Aristotle and his successor in his school at Athens, gave his library, which included that of his master, the first on record, to a Scepsian, one of their disciples; who removed it to this city, and left it to his descendants, many years the unworthy possessors of that invaluable treasure [1].

III. Chrysa, which has not been mentioned before, was near Hamaxitus and noted for its temple of Apollo Smintheus, *The Mouse-Apollo.* It was the spot referred to in the story of the Teucri; in which was found the reason why the image of the God had been carved with a mouse beneath its foot. But Heraclides of Pontus, a disciple of Plato and Aristotle, had related, that mice abounded there, and were held sacred, and that, on this account, the image had been made standing on a mouse. Strabo, who rejects the tale of the Teucri, derives the origin of the place from the dispersion of the Cilicians; some of whom had transferred to it the shrine of this Apollo from a more antient Chrysa, that of Homer, in the territory of Adramyttium [2].

IV. The antient barrow of the Trojan king Ilus, which is naked or has only a pillar on it in the Ilias, now made a different appearance. Theophrastus, who was not less eminent as a naturalist than as a Philosopher, instances, to illustrate his position that the reports of the mythologists were evidences of the longevity of certain kinds of Trees, the Olive at Athens; the Palm at Delos;

[1] Strabo, p. 608.

[2] Strabo, 604, 605, 612.

the

the wild Olive, of which the Crowns were made, at Olympia; and the Beeches on this barrow[1]. What the tradition was concerning these will be seen when I have occasion to mention them again.

V. Among the plains of Lectos was one, not large, named Tragasæum, noted for a spontaneous saltern, where the mineral, fixed by the Etesian winds, was in such plenty, that, it is related, the people of Troas could use it as much and as often as they pleased. Lysimachus imposed a duty on it, and it then suddenly disappeared. He is said to have wondered at the circumstance, and to have revoked his edict of taxation; when, being free, the salt began to be found again as before[2].

VI. Antiochus, son and successor of Seleucus Nicator the conqueror of Lysimachus, engaging in an expedition against the king of Bithynia, and his fleet stopping on the way at Sigéum, went up to Ilium with his queen, who was also his sister, his potentates and retinue. Of his reception there we have no account; but the people of Sigéum manifested on his arrival a disposition to profane and servile adulation like that which is the disgrace and reproach of the Athenians, whom they resembled in their forms of government. They not only sent Ambassadors to him with congratulations, but passed a Decree, which, after encomiums on his conduct, enacts, that public supplications should be made for his prosperity and that of his consort to Minerva of Ilium; to Apollo

[1] L. iv. c. 14. ἡ φηγος a species of the Oak. L. iv. c. 9, 10.

[2] Strabo, p. 605; and see Comment. on p. 227.

his

his leader (who was also his reputed progenitor); to Victory, and other deities; the priestess, priests, magistrates and officers wearing crowns; and also for the king and the people of Sigéum, by all the citizens, commorants, and sojourners there, who were required to extol Antiochus for his great virtue and valour; providing also that his golden image on horseback should be placed in the temple of Minerva at Sigéum on a pedestal of white marble to be inscribed, "The Sigéans *have set up king* Antiochus son of king Seleucus for his piety to the Temple; a *benefactor*, and the saviour of the People; this honour to be proclaimed in the General Assembly and at the Games." Like his father, Antiochus pretended or believed that the Genius of Alexander the Great favoured him, when sleeping, with his advice; and, accordingly, he is here mentioned as having with him his propitious and co-operating Genius. He did not wait for posthumous deification, for he had already a priest; as appears also from the Decree[x].

[x] Chisfhull, *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*, p. 49.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XIX.

EVENTS UNDER KING ATTALUS.

I. *The Tröia invaded by king Philip.*—II. *Of the Gauls.*—III. *Removal of the Gergithans by Attalus.*

I. ATTALUS, who had risen into power and assumed the title of king at Pergamum [1], was an ally of the Romans in their war with Philip king of Macedonia. On a renewal of hostilities, after a treaty of peace, Philip entered the Chersonesus of Thrace, and Eleûs and Madytos surrendered to him [2]. He then besieged Abydos, where Attalus had a small garrison; encompassed it with an intrenchment on the land-side, and planted piles cross-ways to complete the blockade next the sea. The Abydenes continued to make a desperate defence even after their wall was thrown down; and few of them survived the last attack [3]. He was afterwards compelled by the Roman General to withdraw his garrisons from Sestos and Abydos for the defence of his own dominions; and, in another treaty of peace, it was agreed that Abydos should be declared a free city [4].

II. A body of Gauls in the pay of Attalus refusing, from superstition, on an eclipse of the moon, to obey orders, it was

[1] Strabo, p. 624. [2] Livy, l. 31. [3] Polybius. [4] Livy, l. 32.

settled

settled, that they should return to Europe; when he accompanied them with his army as far as the Hellespont; and, on his way back, made a kind visit to the people of Ilium and Alexandréa [1]. The Gauls again crossed over into Asia, distressed the cities of the Hellespont, and wanting possession of a strong-hold, went up into Ilium, but presently deserted it, finding the place would not suit their purpose on account of the part without a wall. On their threatening at another time to besiege Ilium, the people dwelling round about Alexandréa Troas performed no inconsiderable exploit, sending a body of three thousand men against them, and compelling them to retire [2].

III. Attalus destroyed the city Gergithes, and removed the people, which, it may be presumed, were hostile to his views, from the Troas into Mysia; where, when Strabo wrote, they continued to inhabit Gergitha a village near the sources of the river Cäicus [3]. The Phrygian goddess Cybele was conveyed in a vessel from Mount Ida, and first introduced at Rome while Attalus governed the country [4].

[1] Livy, l. 33. Polybius, p. 586. [2] Strabo, p. 594. Polybius, p. 623.
[3] Strabo, p. 616. [4] Ovid, Fast. l. IV.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XX.

The descent of the Romans from the Trojans.

THE prophesy in Homer concerning Æneas and his posterity and the extent of their future kingdom was as generally known in the antient world as the Ilias. After the Æolians had occupied the Tröia no people arose there to whom it could be applied. Alexander and his successors had no pretensions to Æneas for a progenitor. But in Italy the Romans were seen attaining to pre-eminence and spreading their conquests over and beyond the country, which was acknowleged to have received colonies both of Grecks and Trojans. The descendants of the Asian settlers there, or the ingenious, and some have stiled them lying, Greeks, may be reckoned the first heralds of their Trojan ancestry. Lycophron, living, it is remarkable, in the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and more than two centuries before Augustus Cæsar, having adopted the tale (it is supposed from some Greek poet who had described the voyages and wanderings of Æneas), made his Cassandra, the inspired daughter of Priam, to speak of them as the people to whom should be consigned the sceptres and monarchy of the earth and sea[1]; a bold prediction, says Gibbon, before the end of the first Punic war[2].

[1] Cassandra, v. 1226, 1280.

[2] History, v. IV. p. 337.

The ferocious citizens of Rome, in the early ages of the Republic, had not leisure, nor perhaps were they solicitous, to trace back their origin; sufficiently aware of its being far from illustrious. They became afterwards acquainted with the traditions of the Italian towns which they subdued, and the writings of the Greeks; and these were the sources of their Trojan knowlege. Fabius Pictor their first historian was posterior to Lycophron. He amused them with a relation of the arrival of Æncas in the country, as their leader; and with a suite of adventures, and of kings, his posterity reaching down to Romulus and Remus. The fictitious narrative met with their ready assent; while the continued progress of their arms countenanced the opinion that they were guided by an over-ruling Destiny, and contributed to establish the persuasion that in them, now become the claimants, the prophesy which bestowed a widely-extended empire on the Æneadæ was hastening to its completion.

On examining the passage in Homer, which was the basis of this superstructure, it was found, that, according to the poet, Æneas and his successors were to reign not over Italians, but Trojans. Some persons, to remove this difficulty, and to set the hero at liberty to ramble from home, substituted in the room of the word *Trojans*, one of greater latitude, expressive of universal empire [r]. But this reading, not to offer any other remark on it, is contradicted by the hymn to Venus. The goddess there tells

[r] Strabo, p. 608, παντεσσιν for Τρωεσσιν.

Anchises

Anchises that Æneas will reign over Trojans [1], and that sons will be born to his sons. Dionysius of Halicarnassus supposes Æneas and his posterity to have governed the Trojans in Italy, while his son Ascanius remained and was king in the Tröia, where his descendants ruled in the time of Homer; but it has been replied, Æneas then obtained no distinction above Antenor, Capys, and others who settled in that country; and it is affirmed in the Ilias, that he should succeed Priam, who reigned over all the Trojans and in the Tröia. Dionysius has also mentioned colonies said to have been settled by him as evidences of his voyage. It was easy for the author of his adventures to conduct him to places, of which the names were favourable to the fiction. The people, he was sure, would be disposed, from a prevailing affectation of antiquity, to adopt the fable as true; the priests, zealous for the honour of their temples, would be delighted to hear that so great a hero had visited and made offerings at them, or had consulted their oracle; and complaisant writers, like this historian, would not be wanting, to give their sanction to the narrative. It has also been said that Æneas, leaving a colony in Italy, returned to the Tröia. Eustathius imagines, that Homer by the Trojans intended the Romans; that he was acquainted with the Sibylline Oracles, which derive the Roman princes from Æneas (a sure proof of their being a forgery); or that he foresaw (as most poets according to the learned bishop are endowed with the gift of prophesy) that

[1] V. 196, ἐν Τρωσσιν ἀνάξει.

the Romans were to descend from him and become masters of the world.

The most early instance I have met with of an avowal made by the Romans of their consanguinity with the Trojans, is connected with a quarrel between two countries in Greece [1]. The Acarnanians, imploring their aid against the Ætolians, represented that their ancestors did not go to the siege of Troy; and the Senate appointed an embassy to require the Ætolians to withdraw their garrisons, and leave in quiet a nation, which alone of all the Greeks, had not assisted in the war against the people from whom the Romans were descended. So true is it, says the acute Bayle [2], that on certain occasions policy does not refuse to adopt the most ridiculous pretences. Both the plea and interference was grounded on falsehood. Strabo [3] has shown from the catalogue of the forces under Agamemnon, that the country of Acarnania is declared by Homer to have supplied its quota for the expedition. In their answer, the Ætolians rejected with equal contempt the reason which was assigned by the Romans for their insolent demand, and their pretensions, though attested by the Senate, to Trojan origin. But this rebuff did not make them relinquish their claim. They had motives sufficient to induce them to persevere in it, to extend and establish as much as possible the belief of their connection with Æneas. It was calculated to promote, especially among the Asiatic Greeks, a persuasion and

[1] Justin, l. 28, c. 1. [2] See *Acarnania*. [3] P. 318.

prejudice-

prejudice favourable to their views; and, in particular, well adapted to secure to their legions, when the career of victory should bring them to the confines of Europe and Asia, an unimpeded, as it would be an expected, passage of the Hellespont, and a benevolent reception from the people there.

The most early instance of public attention bestowed by the Romans on the Iliéans is found in the first treaty of peace with Philip King of Macedonia, when they were included by name [1]; more, it may well be imagined, as a token of regard, than a proof of any real consequence attaching to them.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN ASIA.

I. *Invasion of Europe by Antiochus the Great.*—II. *Arrival of the Roman admiral in the Hellespont.*—III. *Antiochus invaded by the Romans.*—IV. *Interview of the Romans and Iliéans.*—V. *Regard of the Romans for Ilium.*

I. ANTIOCHUS, surnamed the Great, a descendant of Seleucus Nicator, laying claim to all the dominions which had belonged to Lysimachus, was desirous to invade Europe; but three cities, Smyrna, Alexandréa Troas, and Lampsacus, which he

[1] Livy, l. 29, c. 12.

was unable to get into his hands by force or by treaty, and which he was unwilling to leave behind him unsubdued, detained him in Asia [1]. At length, having put a garrison into Abydos, and sent a detachment of his army against Lampsacus, he crossed the Hellespont and laid siege to Madytos; which shut its gates against him, but on his surrounding the wall with troops and menacing an assault, surrendered; as did the remaining places of the Chersonesus. He then, before he would loosen his ships for the voyage, went up to Ilium to sacrifice to Minerva there.

II. The Romans were now at war with Antiochus [2]; and, the following year, their admiral, Caius Livius, entering the Hellespont with thirty ships, and with seven quadriremes, which had been brought to him by King Eumenes, son and successor of Attalus, steered first to the port of the Achæans, and went up to Ilium: where, after sacrificing to Minerva, he gave a kind audience to ambassadors from the neighbouring places, from Eleûs, Dardanus, and Rhœtéum; all which surrendered to the Romans [3]. He then sailed up the Hellespont, where Abydos, which had a royal garrison, withstood him; but he obtained possession of Sestos.

III. The Roman army, under Lucius Cornelius Scipio, coming through the Chersonesus to the Hellespont, found the necessary preparations for their embarkation already made by Livius and Eumenes. They crossed the sea without opposition or tumult,

[1] Livy, l. 35. [2] L. 37. [3] Appian.

as

as to a peaceful coaſt, the vessels steering some to one place some to another, and encamped by the Hellespont; this being their first passage from Europe into Asia. Scipio advanced to Dardanus; and thence to Rhœtéum; each city pouring forth its inhabitants to meet him; and then to Ilium; from whence he proceeded toward Antiochus, who was at Sardes, and who, alarmed at his progress, offered terms of peace, and, in particular, the cession of Alexandréa Troas and the other cities, about which the war had its beginning, but they were rejected; and a decisive battle soon after gave the Romans possession of all Asia on this side of Mount Taurus [1].

IV. Ilium, when Scipio arrived there [2], was only a kind of village-city. So says Demetrius of Scepsis, who, a youth, going thither about that time, saw it so poor and neglected a place, that the roofs of the houses were without tiles on them [3]. It was a fortunate, as well as flattering, circumstance for the people, that, whether policy or persuasion was at the bottom, the Romans were desirous to be esteemed a Trojan colony. The reader may be amused with, perhaps laugh at, the farcical account of their first interview. Scipio, from his camp, which was in the plain under the walls of Ilium, went up to the city and to the citadel; where he sacrificed, as many great and illustrious persons had

[1] Livy, l. 37, 38. Polybius, p. 1130.

[2] In the year of Rome 562, before Christ 190.

[3] Strabo, p. 594.

done

done before him, to the tutelary goddess. The Iliéans, we are told, showed by the most respectful demeanour and expressions, their deference to the Romans descended from them, and who exulted in this their origin. They related how Æneas and his officers left them to go in quest of a country to settle in; and the Romans challenged these for their progenitors. Their congratulations were warm and mutual; and their joy was likened to that of parents and children meeting after a long separation. An insatiable desire to contemplate the household gods of their ancestors, the places of their nativity, the temples and images which they had frequented or worshipped, possessed the Romans; while the Iliéans, who seem to have well crammed the credulity of their gaping guests, were delighted that their posterity, already conquerors of the West and Africa, laid claim to Asia as the kingdom of their forefathers; and affirmed, that, to have been ruined was a desirable event for Troy, since it had led to so happy a restoration of its consequence [1].

V. When the victorious army returned, and, loaded with the spoils of Asia, proceeded, after passing the Hellespont, by slow marches, through the Chersonesus, the chiefs had leisure, as many as were ambitious of the honour, to make out their Dardan pedigrees; and from this æra the Romans are no longer regarded by Greek and Latin authors as the offpsring of the rabble of

[1] Justin, l. 31.

Romulus,

Romulus, but as having their veins enriched with a large portion of true Trojan blood. The *mania* infected alike the Senate and the People, and both became benefactors to Ilium; restoring, embellishing, and conferring privileges on the city which they considered as the parent of Rome.

CHAPTER XXII.

I. *Of the identity of Ilium and Troy.*—II. *Mr. Bryant cited.*—III. *Claim and pleas of the Iliéans.*—IV. *The origin of their city.*—V. *Of the offering sent by the Locrians to their Minerva.*—VI. *Of their Palladium.*—VII. *Appeal to Homer.*

I. A QUESTION which was agitated about this time, whether Ilium stood or not on the site of Troy, seems to have lain dormant, or not to have been fully discussed before. When Herodotus says, that Xerxes went up to see *the Pergamum of Priam*, he may be supposed to distinguish the Homeric city from the then Ilium. But another historian, Hellanicus of Lesbos, his contemporary, who has been already mentioned, had with other information or more complaisance, represented this and the Homeric city as the same; and his concurrence with the wishes of the people had contributed in no small degree to establish a position, which numbers were disposed to receive as true, and

which, from the then insignificance of the place, not many would take the trouble to examine; few, if any, to controvert.

II. Mr. Bryant [1] informs us, that, from regard to the Iliéans, Alexander "was resolved to rebuild their antient city: but they could not describe where it originally stood." I have not met with this anecdote in any other author. It may even be doubted whether the subject had then been under consideration. The stay made by Alexander at Ilium was not sufficient for him, if he had the inclination, to enter into or to decide on disputes in archæology, if any then subsisted. Engaged as he was there in preparing for battle or the pursuit of the enemy, it is more probable that what was told him positively he heard hastily, and admitted without suspicion of mistake.

III. The public and avowed patronage of the conquerors of Antiochus, and the ambition of some principal Roman families to deduce their pedigrees from Trojan stems, was not more calculated to excite jealousy in the neighbours, than vanity in the people of Ilium. Extraordinary circumstances had concurred to favour the opinion, that they inherited and inhabited the antient Troy; and, flattered, as they were, with the idea that the Romans, as descended from the same stock, were becoming masters of the world, and, possessing at the same time solid advantages from the connection, whether real or imaginary, it might be expected that they would endeavour to establish their local

[1] Dissert. p. 40, 41, 51.

importance

importance with increase of zeal, solicitous that their claim of being truly citizens of the genuine Troy should be allowed in its full extent. Accordingly, they averred it was not true that Troy had entirely vanished on its capture by the Greeks, or had ever been deserted; and, to prove the identity of their city with Troy, they appealed to an antient custom, the sending of Virgins annually to their Minerva by the Locrians, which, they said, had commenced a little after the destruction of Troy; and to the Palladium or statue of the goddess still in their possession [1].

IV. Some curious and learned persons, offended at the growing arrogance of the Iliéans, instituted an enquiry into the foundation of their high pretensions. In reply to the assertion that their city was the same with that of Homer, they cited Homer, who declares in the Ilias [2], that his Ilium would be destroyed, and speaks of the event as accomplished in the Odyssey [3]. To prove it had disappeared, they produced also the testimony of later authors; one, Lycurgus the Athenian, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, who teaching in an oration [4] *(still extant)* that the overthrow of a city is its death, asks, "Who has not heard of Troy, how that, after becoming the greatest of the cities of its time and the principal of all Asia, it continues always uninhabited, having been once subverted by the Greeks?" They supposed the people who could have restored it to have regarded the site as ill-omened; either on account of the calamities suffered on it, or of the curses

[1] Strabo, p. 600, 601. [2] ξ'. 448. [3] ϑ'. 328.
[4] Against Leocrates.

uttered, according to antient custom, by Agamemnon against any who should afterwards inclose it within a wall; and therefore to have left that place, and to have walled the other. "Before then, continues Strabo, Astypalæensians [1], they retaining the Rhœtéum, co-inhabited, toward the Simois, Polium, which is now called Polisma, and which, being an insecure place, was soon demolished; but the present settlement was made, and temple founded, under the Lydians; and it was not a city until a long time after, but increased, as we have said, by little and little; albeit Hellanicus, to gratify the Iliéans, as his manner is, agrees in this, that the present city is the same as Troy: but, as for the country of the non-apparent city, the people who had Sigéum and Rhœtéum divided it, and, as happened to either, that of the other neighbouring places; and gave it back on its having been re-edified [2]." "Some, he says, relate, that the city, after having changed its place several times, remained where it is, chiefly in obedience to an oracle [3]. But Troy, which lay a heap of ruins, was resorted to on the departure of the Greeks, for materials to be used in repairing the circumjacent places, which had only been damaged, and in building, as at Sigéum and Achilléum; until they were all removed, and no vestige of the city is left [4]."

[1] P. 601. Ἀστυπαλαιεῖς. An island called Astypalæa is mentioned p. 488. Their city was free under the Romans. *Pliny*. Mr. Villoison found there inscriptions, one containing a treaty made with them by the Roman Republic. *Homer. Prolegomena*, p. LV.

[2] Strabo, p. 602. See Comment. [3] P. 593. [4] P. 599.

V. The

V. The story of the violation of the chastity of Cassandra, daughter of Priam, by Ajax Oïleus, in the temple and in the presence of Minerva at Troy, and of the wrath of the goddess on that account, though of great antiquity, is not, as Strabo[1] has remarked, founded on Homer; who represents the deity, not as angry with the Locrians in particular for any misbehaviour of their leader, but with the Greeks in general as having been deficient in their respect to her temple.

The Locrians, it is related, suffered from the plague or pestilence, the outrage committed by their chief being avenged on the people, in the third year after the taking of Troy. On consulting the oracle of Apollo, they received for answer, that the goddess must be appeased by their sending to her annually, for a certain time, two Locrian virgins, to be chosen by lot; and, such was their superstition, that they not only resolved then to comply with the requisition, but continued their obedience for a term of years hardly credible.

It was the business of these devoted females to take care of the temple of Minerva at Ilium, to keep it clean, and, in particular, to sweep round about the altar early in the morning; and this they did without their upper garment, with their feet naked like servant-maids, and with their heads bare, even if labouring under the burthen of old age[2].

[1] P. 60. and see Comment.

[2] Plutarch, De Sera Numinis Vind. p. 52, edit. Wyttenbach.

Polybius,

Polybius, who had frequently visited the very antient colony of Locrians settled in Italy, of which some mention has been already made, declaring, that their customs and traditions were more conformable to the account given of them by Aristotle than by Timæus, relates, as their own information, that nobility of ancestry was derived among them, not through the males but females; of whom those only were reputed noble who deduced their origin from the hundred families which were noble before their migration, and from which the Locrians who remained behind in their country were about to chuse by lot the virgins to be sent, as the Oracle had directed, into Ilium [1].

The Iliéans, retaining their old enmity to the Locrians, as having made part of the army of Agamemnon, endeavoured to deprive them of the benefit of a reconciliation with the goddess, by precluding, as much as was in their power, their access to her temple; way-laying, and, it is said, even killing the women, as often as they could, to compel the Locrians to send other victims.

Æneas, the very antient writer on Tactics, whom we have before cited [2], instances, in his remarks on the difficulty of hindering the introduction of a thing into a city by crafty management, these Locrian females, "which, says he, the people about Ilium, for so long a time and so disposed, have not been able with all their study and vigilance to keep from entering; but a

[1] L. XII. "Illas *centum* virgines." "From which an *hundred* virgins were taken by lot." Latin interpreter and Hampton's Polybius, v. II. p. 367. See Bayle, *Cassandra.*

[2] P. 65.

few

few taking heed not to be detected, are not detected in bringing in many bodies; and this same purpose has been heretofore effected by some like means [1]."

The duration of this expiatory offering was, most unreasonably, extended by Apollo to a thousand years. Æneas, who, it is to be observed, has mentioned one or more transactions as late as the hundred and tenth Olympiad, speaks of the usage as subsisting in his time; and, from various authors, it appears to have been continued for the term prescribed [2]. That an Oracle should have ventured to impose such a punishment for an offence so circumstanced may seem incredible. That a people so distant from Ilium should have obeyed it at all, much more that they should have persevered for so many centuries in the observance of such an ordinance, may, especially in persons not acquainted with the supremacy of the power of superstition, excite wonder. But, extraordinary as it may be deemed, the custom, if not its occasion, was incontrovertible; and the opponents of the Iliéans, in this article, had no other resource but to detract from its high antiquity, by affirming that it began when the Persians were masters of the country [3].

VI. Fable had ascribed a divine origin to the Palladium of Troy. Ilus, it is related, was directed by an Oracle to follow a pied heifer, and to build his city where she rested; and, this happening on a hill called that of the Phrygian Até, he

[1] V. II. p. 1704.

[2] See Casaubon on Æneas. Bayle in *Cassandra.*

[3] Strabo, p 601.

prayed

prayed to Jupiter to grant him a farther sign; and, in the morning, found this famous image of Pallas or Minerva lying before his tent [1].

The Palladium of Troy was supposed to have had a property which is not taken notice of by Homer, and which, as we have before mentioned, was said to have been revealed by Helenus to the Greeks. It was the sure guardian of the city and people. According to Ovid [2], the place which should possess this treasure was rendered impregnable by it, and could not be destroyed even by any one of the Gods, if angry; on its descent from heaven, Apollo of Thymbra was consulted, and, from the obscurity of his thick grove answered, not in a counterfeit voice,

Ætheream servate deam, servabitis urbem;
Imperium secum transferet illa loci.

The Palladium of the Iliéans, which was said to have turned the eyes aside when Cassandra was violated in its presence by Ajax Oïleus [3], has been described [4], as a wooden statue three cubits high, striding with the feet (an argument that it was not of the most early sculpture); and as having in the right hand an up-lifted javelin, in the left a spindle or distaff. With these attributes the goddess is seen on medals of Ilium as in motion or marching, and with the calathus or basket (the prototype of a species of turban still in use) on her head.

[1] Apollodorus, l. 3, p. 207, by Gale.
[2] Fast. l. vi. v. 427.
[3] Strabo, p. 264.
[4] By Apollodorus.

It was objected to this Palladium, that it did not, like that of Rome, and some other places, represent the goddess *sitting* but *standing*; a posture which did not accord with Homer, who has signified [1] that the Trojan Minerva was *sitting*; for Hector, when he orders a procession of matrons to be made to her temple in the citadel, directs the propitiatory offering, a rich robe, *to be laid on her knees*; whereas it was usual to place the gift on the altar, when the deity was not in an attitude to receive it. This argument was more difficult to confute, than to elude; which was attempted by perverting the words from their natural, obvious, and common signification [2]. It was further urged, that, according to Homer [3], the Palladium of Troy was carried off by Diomed and Ulysses; and it was replied, that they conveyed away an image which had been substituted in its place; and that the true Palladium, which had been hidden for security soon after the commencement of the siege, had never been removed, except only to Palæscepsis by Æneas, who, after saving it from the flames, had restored it to Ilium [4].

VII. It has been said of Homer, that "in his Ilias he paints and describes as one who knew every spot of ground;" and that, "after reading him, we seem to be as well acquainted with the face of the country about Troy, as if we had been there [5]." And indeed, supposing him to record a real transaction, he had

[1] Ilias, ζ'. 92.

[2] See Strabo, p. 600, and Comment.

[3]

[4]

[5] Beattie's Essays. Elogium on Homer.

no occasion, nor could he venture, to create an imaginary landscape. He had only to preserve the existing connection between the story and the spot, which happily furnished him with durable characteristics. But if the Poet has merited the encomiums bestowed on him, if while he precedes all other profane writers in antiquity, he is surpassed by none of them in local accuracy and precision, it is obvious, that the question concerning Ilium would best be decided by examining whether its site corresponded with that of Troy as described by him. The appeal was accordingly made by two of the most distinguished opponents of the Iliéan claim, Hestiæa a learned lady and grammarian of Alexandréa, and Demetrius of Scepsis; who, as inhabitants of cities distant only a few miles from the scene of the Ilias, could compare the poem with the spot at their leisure, and without fear of interruption or danger.

Hestiæa was author of an Inquiry entitled "Whether the War of Troy was carried on about the city that now is, and whether the Poet calls the plain before this city and the sea, Trojan?" This Dissertation has perished, but is cited by Demetrius; the substance of whose work, called *The Trojan Field*[1], has fortunately been preserved to us by Strabo[2]. Their researches, especially those of Demetrius, while they illustrated the mutual agreement and harmony, which had subsisted between the country and Homer, furnished criterions for the decision of the contro-

[1] Τρωϊκος Αγρος. [2] P. 598.

versy

versy more sure than either the custom of sending the Locrian virgins to Ilium, or the boasted possession of the Palladium. But, as a detail of the particulars here would require a much longer digression than suits with our present purpose, I shall now resume and continue our history; after mention only of the hardihood of M. Chevilier, who insists, and he has been abetted by classical scholars eminent in reputation, that Demetrius has, in his topography, mistaken the river Simois for the Scamander. Reader, believe it not!

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF THE TRÖIA UNDER THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

I. *Allotment of the country by the Decemvirs.*—II. *Interposition of the Ilićans in behalf of the Lycians.*—III. *Sibylline verses enquired for at Ilium.*—IV. *Minerva of Ilium and Venus of Alexandréa allies of the Romans.*—V. *Treatment of Ilium by Fimbria.*—VI. *And by Sylla.*—VII. *Condition of the Tenedians.*

I. THE settlement of the conquered countries was consigned by the Romans, on the conclusion of the war with Antiochus, to ten persons, called, from their number, Decemvirs[1]; one of whom, the famous Titus Quintus Flaminius, was stiled Æneades,

[1] Livy, l. 38, 39.

and the great leader of the Æneadæ in the inscription of his offerings to Apollo at Delphi[1]. These commissioners bestowed immunity on the Iliéans, and granted them Rhœtéum and Gergithum, it is related, not so much on account of any recent merits of the people, as from a remembrance of their connection with the origin of the Romans. From the same consideration they made Dardanus a free city. The remainder of the Tröia and the Chersonesus of Thrace was given to their ally king Eumenes; but came afterwards, with his other dominions, into the possession of the Romans as a bequest; according to their own interpretation of the will of one of his successors. He assisted them in their war with Perseus son of Philip king of Macedonia, whose fleet was sometime stationed at Sigéum[2].

II. The Iliéans were not tardy in assuming importance with their descendants. The Rhodians had by an embassy requested the Decemvirs to grant them Lycia as a recompense for their fidelity and attachment to the Roman people[3]. The Iliéans, on the other hand, sent two deputies[4] to pray, by their mutual ties of relationship, that the Lycians might be pardoned their offences; and, it is likely, urged, that under Sarpedon they had been among the principal auxiliaries of Priam. The Decemvirs, after hearing, endeavoured to satisfy both parties, by not inflicting any punishment on the Lycians, but only giving them to the Rhodians.

[1] Plutarch in the Life of Flaminius.
[2] Livy, l. 44.
[3] Polybius, p. 1177.
[4] Hipparchus and Satyrus.

The Iliéans then boasted of their having appeased the resentment of the Romans, and told the Lycians, going about to their cities, that they had obtained their freedom; which was contradicted by the Ambassadors. Neither the Lycians nor Rhodians were contented, and both people applied to the Senate for its decision. The Lycians finally were not benefited to the extent of their wishes by the interposition of the Iliéans, though it appears to have been of service to them.

III. The Capitol at Rome having been consumed by fire in the Consulship of Lucius Scipio, Ilium was, on account of the antiquity of the people, one of the cities, where it was ordered by the Senate, that inquiry should be made for Sibylline verses; to replace the Sacred Books, which had perished in the flames [1]. The priests of Minerva of Ilium and the rulers were far more deficient in genius and subtlety than I suppose, if the Roman deputies were permitted to leave them empty-handed.

IV. Minerva of Ilium and Venus of Alexandréa would have misbehaved exceedingly, if, after the loving interview of the Romans with the Iliéans, they had not taken their part against Mithridates. The former Goddess interposed in favour of the gallant defenders of Cyzicus. A tempest happened and did much damage to the assailants. The same night, she appeared, it was affirmed, to several persons at Ilium, in a dream, all covered with sweat, and told them, she was just arrived from

[1] Tacitus. Hist. l. 3. Annal. l. 6.

the

the relief of that city. A pillar was afterwards shown by the people of Ilium with an inscription recording this miracle [1]. Lucullus, after the siege had been raised, being at Alexandréa, was lodged there in the temple of Venus. The Goddess, pleased, it should seem, with such an inmate, appeared, also in a dream, and said to him, "Why sleepest thou, generous Lion, when the fawns are near?" He summoned some friends to hear the relation of his vision, and, almost before he had finished, messengers arrived from Ilium to inform him that thirteen gallies belonging to Mithridates were seen passing the Port of the Achæans and steering for Lemnos [2]. These were all taken by Lucullus, doubtless in consequence of his having been roused by the friendly Goddess.

V. When Fimbria, having obtained the command of the Roman army by mutiny and the murder of the Consul Valerius Flaccus, approached Ilium [3], the people regarding him as a robber not to be admitted into the city, applied for assistance to Sylla; who, promising to come speedily in person, directed them in the mean time to declare that they had surrendered to him. Fimbria, on hearing this, commended them, as already friends of the Romans; and required, being a Roman, to be received by them; not without some irony on the relationship of the Romans with the Iliéans. For their refusal, he took, when he did enter the city, severe vengeance; killing all he met; setting it every where

[1] Plutarch in Lucullus.

[2] Appian in Bello Mithrid. § 223.

[3] Strabo, p. 594. See Comment.

on

on fire; maiming the deputies who had been sent to Sylla; not sparing things sacred, or the supplicants of Minerva, but burning them all with her temple. He overthrew even the walls; and, going about on the morrow, examined whether any part of the city was left standing; but, having suffered worse, says my Author [1], who perhaps exaggerates, from one akin than from Agamemnon, it had perished, and was an area covered with ruins. Nothing of it, not a temple or image, remained. "But, continues Appian, the shrine of the Minerva [2], which they call the Palladium and account heaven-descended, some think, was found uninjured, beneath the fallen walls of the edifice, being sheltered by them; if indeed Diomed and Ulysses did not remove it out of Ilium at the time of the Trojan war;" and another author [3] relates, what is still less likely to be credited, that the temple of Minerva itself stood entire, untouched by the surrounding flames. Such, says the former, was the treatment experienced by Ilium at the end of the Olympiad one hundred seventy three; and, as some reckoned, one thousand and fifty years after Agamemnon. Fimbria boasted, that in eleven days he had forcibly got possession by siege of a place, which that general with a thousand vessels and all Greece at his command had hardly been able to reduce in ten years; and an Ilian replied or remarked, it was because they had then no Hector to fight for them [4].

[1] Appian, Var. Hist. § 205. And, In Bello Mithrid.

[2] της Αθηνας ιδος. [3] See Julius Obsequens, c. 116. [4] Strabo, p. 594.

VI. Sylla, who soon afterwards held an interview with Mithridates at Dardanus, consoled the Ilićans, on the conclusion of the war, by restoring many of their shattered buildings; and, when he settled the province of Asia, in recompense of their fighting on his side, or of their sufferings for their good will toward him, he left them free, and enrolled them friends of the Roman people [1]. It was he who first introduced at Rome from Ilium the spectacle of boys exercising in troops on horseback called the Trojan game or course [2].

VII. The Tenedians were at this time rich, as appears from the Orations of Cicero, who pleaded for them in a cause concerning their immunities, which, says Bayle [3], was determined with too much rigour against them. It is related by an historian of the Augustan age, that they had made a decree forbidding the mention of Achilles within the sacred portion of Tennes their founder, whose worship there had been transmitted down to a time not then remote [4]. It probably ceased on the removal of his beautiful image, which, Cicero informs us, the people accompanied to the sea-side with loud groans, as it was carrying away to be transported to Rome by Verres.

[1] Appian, § 211. [2] Suetonius. [3] In Tenedos.
[4] Diodorus Siculus, l. v. c. 4. See also Pausanias.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE JULIAN FAMILY.

I. *Of Ilium under Julius Cæsar.*—II. *Augustus Cæsar.*—III. *Tiberius Cæsar.*—IV. *Tiberius Claudius Cæsar.*—V. *Nero Cæsar.*—VI. *End of the Julian family.*—VII. *Decline of Ilium.*—VIII. *The Claim of the Romans to Trojan descent continued.*

THE peculiar fortune of the Iliéans reserved for them, an insignificant people, the power of vaunting, not only that their city was the mother of Rome, but, as their supreme glory, that they had furnished the parent-stock of the imperial despots, who governed both it and the subject world.

The Romans claiming Æneas for their founder, some considerable families had the vanity, as we have before stated, to trace their descent from the reputed companions of his voyage. It may well be imagined, that they had in general very little, if any, ground for their pretensions. Some conformity or resemblance of name seems to have sufficed; and the pedigree, being once promulged, was not controverted; each person desiring only the unmolested enjoyment of his own fancied ancestry. But Ascanius, son of Æneas, seems to have been called also Iülus, for the

express purpose of furnishing one family, on its rising into distinction, with a brilliant progenitor; for the name Ascanius only is found in the Greek authors anterior to the Roman historians.

Iülus, son of Æneas, is supposed to have been adopted into the pedigree of the Julians with the surname of Cæsar, (a family one while of mean condition at Aricia, a little town near Rome) about the time when the Romans began to emerge from barbarism; and this lineage, being recorded by their early writers, was afterwards generally allowed. But, though the origin of Julius Cæsar from the goddess Venus and Anchises the father of Æneas was admitted, the idea that he was of a race predestined to wield the sceptre of the Universe was probably suggested by the exalted station to which his ambition attained, and was propagated and more fully established under the influence of the success and policy of his crafty nephew and adopted son, Augustus.

If the Roman people be accused of foolish credulity in the article of their heaven-descended emperors, it is to be remembered, that the tale was connected with that of the arrival of Æneas in Italy, which had the sanction of the unanimous assent of their own historians; while, that the prophesy concerning his posterity had been rightly applied, was attested as it were by the most extraordinary events, by the transcendent fortune of the Julian line, and by the widely-spred dominion which came into its possession.

I. It is remarkable that the Ilïéans, not influenced by the consideration of the ancestry of Julius Cæsar, sided, in the civil war,

war, with his competitor Pompey. Either they did not then regard the Julian race as that prophesied of in Homer, or they misinterpreted and were misled by omens, in which they were great dealers [1].

After the battle of Pharsalia, the conqueror, pursuing his rival into Asia, went to Ilium; full, we are told, of admiration of the antient renown of the place, and desirous to behold the spot from which he derived his origin. His reception there must have pleased him, as he overlooked the recent default of the people; and from magnanimity, partiality, or policy, not only forgave their offence, but proved much kinder to them even than Sylla [2]; adding to their territory, and letting them retain their liberty, and their immunity from public offices. It was strongly reported, after his death, that he was about, if he had lived, to remove to Ilium or Alexandréa; carrying away with him the riches of the empire, leaving Italy exhausted of men by

[1] Iliacæ quoque signa manus, perituraque castra,
Ominibus petiere suis: nec fabula Trojæ
Continuit, Phrygiique ferens se Cæsar Iüli.

Lucan. Pharsalia, l. 3, v. 211.

From Ilium too ill-omen'd ensigns move,
Again ordained their former fate to prove;
Their arms they range on Pompey's hapless side,
Nor sought a chief to Dardan kings allied:
Tho' tales of Troy proud Cæsar's lineage grace,
With great Æneas and the Julian race. *Rowe.*

[2] Strabo, p. 594. See Comment.

levies, and Rome to be governed by his adherents[1]. This was perhaps a tale devised to promote or accelerate the conspiracy which destroyed him; or, to render his memory odious to the people; if he was not rather indeed impressed with the idea that he was really descended from Æneas; and did not mean more completely to verify the prophesy in Homer, by actually reigning in the Tröia.

II. Augustus, ridiculously vain of his Trojan ancestors, caused them all to be represented on the temple of Mars the Avenger, which he erected at Rome[2]. To please him and the Romans, Dionysius of Halicarnessus sullied the dignity and purity of history by labouring to prove the arrival of Æneas in Italy. The same track of adulation was pursued by the poets. Horace has frequent allusions to his Dardan origin. Ovid, in the Metamorphoses, hoped to obtain his favour by settling Æneas, after much wandering, in Italy; and deducing the Julian family from his son Iülus. Virgil, besides introducing this pedigree in the Georgics, has made it the ground-work of the Æneis. It is amusing to note the difficulties he strüggles with in suiting to his design a story presenting so many obstacles and improbabilities, to be encountered and overcome. He exposes the absurdity of the tale, and amply confutes, while he beautifully embellishes it. The reflecting reader wonders that he is able at all to convert the

[1] Suetonius, Cæsar, c. 79. Gyllius, p. 26, c. 3.

[2] See Ovid, Fast. l. v. 565.

Trojans

Trojans into Romans, and finally to establish his hero as the progenitor of Augustus in Italy.

It is the remark of a classical traveller, Mr. Chisshull [1], that Virgil, who is known not to have extended his foreign tour so far, was unacquainted with the geography of Troy. But Ovid had visited Ilium, and seen the temple there, which he allows to be that of the Trojan Minerva; and the Palladium, but this he denies to be the original heavenly image, which, whether carried off by Diomed and Ulysses, by Æneas, or any one else, he affirms to be assuredly that at Rome [2]. Macer, his tutor and the companion of his travels, was perhaps, as we have before noted, the hitherto unascertained author of *The Sequel of the Ilias*.

Julia, daughter of Augustus, was in danger [3] of being drowned in the Scamander in the year of Rome seven hundred thirty eight; and so angry, on the occasion, was or pretended to be her husband Agrippa, that he punished the Iliéans by fining them an hundred thousand drachms for having omitted to furnish her with guides, though she arrived without previous notice. If he had any other motive than to please his father-in-law by a show of attention to his wife, some, perhaps imaginary, failure of respect in the Iliéans, or the remembrance of their former defection from the Julian interest, might be the latent

[1] Travels, p. 63.

[2] Cura videre fuit: vidi templumque locumque;
Hoc superest illi, Pallada Roma tenet. Fastorum, l. vi. v. 424.
Compare his account of the Palladium with Q. Calaber, *Paralipom.* l. x. v. 353.

[3] See Bayle in *Scamander*. Note [F].

cause

cause of the severity, for which a pretext was found in the behaviour of their river to this most infamous female, a descendant forsooth of pious Æneas.

Augustus is said to have had under consideration the rebuilding of Troy on the antient site. Horace in a dissuasory Ode [1] introduces Juno declaring that she would not disturb the prosperity of the exiled Trojans, while the sea should continue to roll between Rome and Ilium; the herds to insult, and wild beasts to conceal their young about the place of the funeral pile of Priam or of Paris; and they abstain from attempting, what she was determined not to suffer, the restoration of Troy, the city which had belonged to their ancestors.

The Trojan Game or Course is described by Virgil [2]. It was among the spectacles provided by Julius Cæsar for the entertainment of the public at Rome, two years before his fall [3]; and was very frequently exhibited under Augustus; who, we are told [4], regarded it as antient, seemly, and of use in displaying the genius of the young nobility. It was moreover calculated to gratify family pride, and especially imperial vanity, by its connection with Troy and with Iülus, by whom, they now said, it was first of all imported into Italy. It served the great political purpose of presenting a young heir of the empire with advantage to the general view of the people assembled in the Circus, and of ac-

[1] L. III. 3. [2] See Æneis, l. v. [3] Suetonius in his Life.
[4] Suetonius in his Life.

customing

customing the rising generation early to respect and obey the future despot in the person of the principal leader of their troop. Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus, had headed the greater boys[1] in the Trojan Course.

II. Germanicus, son of Tiberius, was desirous of being acquainted with places of antiquity and renown. He visited Ilium, and there contemplated whatever had been made venerable by vicissitude of fortune and the origin of the Romans[2]. A Greek epigram *On the barrow of Hector*, containing an address to the hero, has been ascribed to him with much greater probability than to the Emperor Hadrian.

The funeral of Drusus, son of Tiberius, who died of poison administered by Sejanus, was remarkable for the ostentatious parade of images representing the Julian family. Æneas was followed by all the kings of Alba, by the founders of Rome, the Sabine nobility, and a very great number more of effigies, in long procession[3]. The Iliéans, on this occasion, sent Ambassadors to Rome; but the concern of Tiberius, who was without natural affection, had ended before their arrival. He laughed at their errand, but gave them audience, and in reply to their address, said that he, in return, condoled with the Iliéans on the loss of their excellent fellow-townsman Hector[4].

[1] Suetonius in his Life.

[2] Tacitus, Annal. l. 2, c. 54.

[3] Tacitus, Annal. l. 4, c. 9.

[4] Suetonius in his Life.

Eleven

Eleven cities contended for the honour of possessing a temple, which the Community of Asia had decreed to be dedicated to the god Tiberius. This human deity was frequently present, and for several days attentively listened in person to the pleadings of the ambassadors in behalf of their constituents, before the Roman Senate; to which the question, as one of mighty importance, was referred [1]. What an employment for that once august assembly! The Ilićans urged that their city was the parent of Rome; but, being strong only in the glory of antiquity, were set aside, with other competitors, as unequal to the burthen of the edifice.

IV. Claudius Cæsar, besides chariot-races and other diversions, entertained the people of Rome with The Trojan Course; which had also been frequently exhibited by his predecessor Caligula. The leaders were his son Britannicus, and Lucius Domitius; the latter, a noble youth who had constantly appeared in this pastime even while of a tender age, before mature boyhood, and had always been well received, but was now so much applauded by the assembly, in the presence of the Emperor sitting in the Circus, that their favour was regarded as a sure presage of his future greatness. He was soon after adopted by Claudius, and surnamed Nero [2].

A body of cavalry, in the army of this Emperor, composed of Dardani, a people of Mœsia, was incited to a signal display of

[1] Tacitus, Annal. l. IV. c. 55.

[2] Suetonius in Claudius, c. 21. Nero, c. 7. Tacitus, Annal. l. II. c. 2.

valour

valour by his appearing to boast of his origin as from them; though others said that he was a Dardanian from the Ilium of the Trojans (so described to distinguish it from an Ilium, more known for the name than as a town [1], on the borders of Macedonia), and even a descendant of their king Dardanus [2]; and as such, it may be presumed, he was complimented, when he sat as Consul in the forum at Rome to hear the pleadings of Nero.

V. At the age of sixteen, Nero, that he might shine early as an advocate and scholar, was admitted to the bar. He had undertaken two causes, which afforded him an opportunity of displaying his oratory in both the Greek and Latin language. He spoke in Greek in behalf of the Ilićans; who, to furnish the boy with an easy theme for his declamation, had probably been instructed to solicit, on this occasion, some new favour or some extension of their privileges. After recounting with eloquence the Trojan origin of the Roman people, the descent of the Julian family from Æneas, and other antient matters bordering, says the historian [3], on fable, he requested for his clients, and doubtless it was pre-determined that he should not be refused, an exemption from every kind of public impost. It was then, I suppose, that a Greek Epistle of the Senate and People of Rome, a palpable forgery it should seem, was read, promising to King Seleucus their friendship and alliance on condition that he would preserve

[1] Livy, l. 31. [2] Trebellius Pollio, in Claudius, p. 814.

[3] Tacitus, Annal. l. xii. c. 58. See note.

to these their kinsmen the like immunity; and that Claudius remitted their tribute to the Ilićans for ever as authors of the Roman race [1].

Nero, having, while a youth, sailed from Scyros to Rome, is contrasted in a complimentary Greek epigram with Neoptolemus the son of Achilles, who went from that island to Troy. After he was Emperor, he set fire to Rome, that, under its image, he might behold the burning of Troy [2]. During the conflagration, he chanted, in the habit of an actor, a play called *The Destruction* [3]; and was filled with extasy at the terrible grandeur and beauty of the spectacle.

The poisoning of Agrippina was the occasion of a sarcastic epigram, which appeared at Rome, alluding to the story of Æneas, who was said to have borne away Anchises on his shoulders, from Troy, when the city was sacked.

Quis neget Æneæ magna de stirpe Neronem?
Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem [4].
Who will deny that from the hero,
Æneas, is descended Nero?
One *took* his father *off*; and th' other,
Nero, has *taken off* his mother.

[1] Suetonius in his Life. [2] Tacitus. Eusebius. Eutropius.

[3] Τῶ Ἄλωσιν, probably that of Sophocles, entitled Ἡ Ἄλωσις τῆς Ἴλιος, mentioned by Strabo, p. 608.

[4] Suetonius in Nero, c. 39.

VI.

VI. The Cæsars, it may well be imagined, had possessed an anxious desire of children. It behoved them, and it was a matter of no trivial importance, to provide heirs to support a most antient prediction by receiving in their turns the empire of the Universe. But they were unable, with all their solicitude, to maintain the series required, and it met with frequent interruption. They so generally failed of offspring from their marriages, that the throne was never filled by three following generations; and thrice only did a son succeed to his father [1]. The worthless, as well as fictitious, line, after continuing an hundred years from Julius Cæsar, upheld with difficulty by the supplementary aid of adoptions and divorces, had a fit ending in the detestable tyrant Nero.

VII. The Iliéans, when no longer distinguished and upheld by imperial favour and partiality, experienced a rapid decline; though they still retained the recommendation of antient fame and of acknowleged consanguinity with the Roman people. A lodgement of soil on the coast before their city, which was continually removing them farther from the sea, and which, by gradually choking up their port, threatened them with its entire loss, may, together with another circumstance of situation, the vicinity of stagnant waters, which could not fail of producing epidemical diseases by their insalubrious exhalations at certain seasons, be considered as accounting sufficiently for the decay of a place ever of far greater celebrity than real consequence.

[1] Gibbon.

VIII. We are delivered, after the extinction of the Julian line, from the nausea of flattery to the emperors as the progeny of Æneas; and the people of Rome recovered from the paroxism, though they were not perfectly cured, of their Trojan folly. Juvenal, at no great distance of time, sneered at the vanity of this race of tyrants, and derided their mock ancestry; as well as the far-fetched progenitors of the thievish rabble of Romulus. The present existence of any genuine descendants from the old citizens of Rome may be called in question; but it deserves to be mentioned here, that, among their successors, though Ilium be no more, the antient tradition of their origin either has continued without interruption or been long ago revived; and that a tumultuous assembly of the Roman populace lately stiled themselves, *Sangue di Troja.*

CHAPTER XXV.

OF ILIUM AND THE TRÖIA IN THE TIME OF STRABO.

STRABO is supposed not to have ceased writing before the eleventh or twelfth year of the Emperor Tiberius [1]. He has related the arrival of Æneas in Italy [2], and announced, as we have seen, a greater notoriety in the descent of the God [Julius]

[1] Casaubon, de Strabone. See Comment.

[2] P. 108.

Cæsar

Cæsar from him than in the affinity of Alexander the Great to the Iliéans; but, on the other hand, he has observed that the common reports about Æneas did not agree with the account given of the founders of New Scepsis by Demetrius; and that Homer accorded neither with the current stories concerning Æneas, nor with Demetrius; but signified that Æneas had remained in the Troas, succeeded to the kingdom, and transmitted it to the sons of his sons, the family of Priam being extinct; so that the succession of Scamandrius, son of Hector, could not be supported; and much more did he differ from others, who said that Æneas had wandered as far as Italy and ended his life in that country.

The Iliéans, Strabo informs us [1], continued then to enjoy the benefits conferred on them by the God Cæsar; and possessed the sea-coast as far as Dardanus, which, reckoning with him sixty or seventy stadia [2] from Sigéum to Rhœtéum, and with Pliny seventy stadia from Rhœtéum to Dardanus, was an extent of about two hundred stadia [3]. But Sigéum is not mentioned as their boundary on that side. The identity of the city of the Iliéans with Troy was disputed, as we have shown, soon after they had received the kisses and embraces of Roman consanguinity. They still not only continued their old claim, but, fond of glory, urged it so arrogantly, eagerly, and with so much perseverance, as to have

[1] P. 594, 595.
[2] Seven miles and a half, or eight miles and three quarters.
[3] Twenty five miles.

rendered

rendered it then a common topic of conversation and discussion; and they were not without a party on their side [1]. The barrows mentioned by Homer, those of Ilus and Æsyetes, the Batieia, and Callicolone were still extant. The Grove of Hector was conspicuous. Achilléum by the Sigéan Cape was a small place, at which remained the temple of Achilles, and the monuments of that hero and Patroclus, and of Antilochus son of Nestor. At Æantéum on the opposite side of the bay, near the Rhœtéan Cape, was the barrow and temple of Ajax Telamon, as also his statue, which had been transported into Egypt by Marc Antony, who, to gratify Cleopatra, removed the offerings of greatest beauty from the most celebrated temples; but which Augustus, who returned his other pillage to the gods, had restored to the people of Rhœtéum [2].

The Iliéans continued to perform the customary rites to the Greek heroes, but did not honour Hercules, because, as they alleged, he had laid Troy waste. Strabo observes [3], "One might say that he so laid it waste as to leave it to future destroyers in a bad condition, it is true, but yet a city; deprived of inhabitants, but not made to disappear; while they, to whom the Iliéans think it fitting to perform rites and to do honour as to gods, made it entirely disappear; unless they give as the reason, that these waged a just war, he an unjust one, *for the horses of Laomedon*;

[1] P. 593. [2] P. 604, 600, 595. [3] P. 596.

to

to which again is opposed Fable, *not for the horses,* for the reward of Hesione and the Cetus. But let us, says Strabo, leave these matters; for this is to degenerate into the setting up of Fable for argument, and perhaps some more credible causes lie hid from us, which have induced the Iliéans to honour some and not others."

Sigéum was a ruined city, having been overthrown by the Iliéans, to whom it belonged, on account, it was said, of disobedience[1]; but the place, being situate nearer the sea and the entrance of the Hellespont, is likely to have interfered with the commerce and consequence of its neighbour; and perhaps its tutelary goddess contributed to its destruction. Minerva of Ilium might have reason to be jealous of Minerva of Sigéum. Rhœtéum was still a city. Dardanus, of which the people had been several times removed under the kings, by some to Abydos, and by some re-instated, was a place of little consequence. Abydos remained in good condition. Sestos was the principal city of the Chersonesus[2]. Of Madytos and Eleûs we have no account from Strabo; that part of his work having perished; but he has mentioned Protesiléon as opposite to Sigéum.

On the side of Ilium and Sigéum next Lectos, Alexandréa had increased; and, having received a Roman colony, was become one of the noble cities of the Empire. The temple of the Sminthéan Apollo remained at Chrysa, with his image, the work of

[1] P. 595, 600.

[2] P. 589, 595, 591.

the

the famous sculptor Scopas of Paros, having under its foot a mouse, a symbol preserving the etymology of his name Smintheus; which word continued in common use in the country; for about Hamaxitus itself, exclusive of the Sminthéum at the temple, two places were called Sminthia; and there were others in the territory of Larissa near it, and elsewhere [1]; all, it should seem, appropriated to the keeping and breeding of holy mice for this god and his votaries. The same deity had still a temple at Tenedos, where they continued to talk of Tennes and of Cygnus, and their exploits [2]; and he was worshipped along the coast from Tenedos to Lesbos principally under this title, or that of Gryneus denoting presidency over hogs, or some like appellation; which may appear sufficiently to degrade *far-darting* Phœbus; yet he and Hercules had names still more unworthy of them, not taken even from quadrupeds, but from mean insects and reptiles [3]. Of the cities of Mount Ida, Scepsis was still worthy of notice.

The state of the Tröia in general was such as might be expected from the removal of the people into Ilium and Alexandréa by Antigonus and Lysimachus; and from other, as well previous as subsequent, contingencies. It is characterised by Strabo as left in ruins and a desert; but yet, from its great renown, furnishing much, and that not common, matter for a writer [4]. He bespeaks pardon for being prolix in treating of it; and admonishes

[1] P. 604. [2] P. 618, p. 604. See Comment. [3] See p. 613.
[4] See p. 565, 581.

monishes his reader, not to impute it more to him, than to the eager desire of being acquainted with famous and antient places, which possessed some persons whom he wished to gratify. We may suppose this paragraph written in the life-time of Germanicus son of Tiberius.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MENTION OF THE TRÖIA.

I. *By Cornelius Severus.* II. *By Lucan.*

I. CORNELIUS Severus, a Latin poet and traveller who is mentioned by Seneca tutor of Nero under whom he lived, relates, that he had admired the reliques of Troy, Pergamum, and its extinct Phrygians (probably images shown at Ilium), principally Hector; and had seen there the barrow of this famous General; and that there layed swift Achilles, and the conquered avenger of the great Hector, Paris.

II. Lucan, nephew of Seneca, was a native of Spain, educated, where he lived, at Rome. He has enlarged in his Pharsalia [1] on the visit of Julius Cæsar to Troy, which he distinguishes from Ilium; and has given a connected and pointed detail of local objects, evidently not the result of travel. Nero was offended perhaps with his manner of relating this incident, or with other passages of his poem, in which he has spoken of the fable

[1] L. IX. v. 961.

of Troy [1], or of the assumed ancestry of Cæsar. The young poet, disgusted at his neglect, gave fresh provocation; and was put to death by the tyrant. I subjoin, without comment, the descriptive verses referred to, with Rowe's translation.

Cæsar arrives in the Hellespont.

Sigæasque petit famæ mirator arenas,
Et Simoentis aquas, et Grajo nobile busto
Rhætion, et multum debentes vatibus umbras.
Circuit exustæ nomen memorabile Trojæ,
v. 965. *Magnaque Phœbæi quærit vestigia muri.*
Jam silvæ steriles, et putres robore trunci
Assaraci pressêre domos, et templa deorum:
Jam lassa radice tenent: ac tota teguntur
Pergama dumetis: etiam periêre ruinæ.
970. *Aspicit Hesiones scopulos, silvasque latentes,*
Anchisæ thalamos; quo judex sederit antro:
Unde puer raptus cœlo: quo vertice Nais
Luserit Œnone: nullum est sine nomine saxum.
Inscius in sicco serpentem pulvere rivum
975. *Transierat, qui Xanthus erat: securus in alto*
Gramine ponebat gressus; Phryx incola manes
Hectoreos calcare vetat: discussa jacebant
Saxa, nec ullius faciem servantia sacri;
Hercêas, monstrator ait, non respicis aras?
980. *O sacer* ——

[1] See l. III. v. 211. l. VI. v. 48; where we are told in the Notes that the walls of Troy were *XL mill. pass.* in circuit. *Edit. Var.* 1669.

V. 968. *Var. Lect.* laxæ, lapsa. Mr. Wood for *Jam lassa* reads *Implicita.*

V. 998. Some copies have before this verse, *Constituam sparsas acies, replebo ruinas.*

Ut

Ut ducis implevit visus veneranda vetustas,
Erexit subitas congestu cespitis aras,
Votaque thuricremos non irrita fudit in ignes.
v. 990. *Dii cinerum, Phrygias colitis quicunque ruinas,*
Æneæque mei, quos nunc Lavinia sedes
Servat et Alba lares, et quorum lucet in aris
Ignis adhuc Phrygius, nullique aspecta virorum
Pallas, in abstruso pignus memorabile templo,
995. *Gentis Iüleæ vestris clarissimus aris*
Dat pia thura nepos, et vos in sede priori
Ritè vocat: date felices in cætera cursus:
Restituam populos, grata vice mœnia reddent
Ausonidæ Phrygibus, Romanaque Pergama surgent.
Sic fatus, repetit classes ——

TRANSLATION.

From hence the curious victor passing o'er,
Admiring, sought the fam'd Sigæan shore.
There might he tombs of Grecian chiefs behold,
Renown'd in sacred verse by bards of old.
There the long ruins of the walls appear'd,
Once by great Neptune, and Apollo, rear'd:
There stood old Troy, a venerable name;
For ever consecrate to deathless fame.
Now blasted mossy trunks with branches sear,
Brambles and weeds, a loathsome forest rear;
Where once in palaces of regal state,
Old Priam, and the Trojan princes, sate;
Where temples once, on lofty columns borne,
Majestic did the wealthy town adorn,

All rude, all waste and desolate is laid,
And ev'n the ruin'd Ruins are decay'd.
Here Cæsar did each storied place survey,
Here saw the rock, where, Neptune to obey,
Hesione was bound the Monster's prey.
Here in the covert of a secret grove
The blest Anchises clasp'd the Queen of love:
Here fair Œnone play'd, here stood the cave
Where Paris once the fatal judgement gave;
Here lovely Ganymede to heav'n was borne;
Each rock, and ev'ry tree, recording tales adorn.
Here all that does of Xanthus' stream remain,
Creeps a small brook along the dusty plain.
While careless and securely on they pass,
The Phrygian guide forbids to press the grass;
This place, he said, for ever sacred keep,
For here the sacred bones of Hector sleep.
Then warns him to observe, where, rudely cast,
Disjointed stones lay broken and defac'd:
Here his last fate, he cries, did Priam prove;
Here on this altar of Hercéan Jove.
Oh Poesie divine!——
When long the Chief his wondering eyes had cast,
On antient monuments of ages past,
Of living turf an altar strait he made,
Then on the fire rich gums and incense laid,
And thus, successful in his vows, he pray'd.
Ye Shades divine! who keep this sacred place,
And thou, Æneas, author of my race,
Ye Pow'rs, whoe'er from burning Troy did come,
Domestic Gods of Alba, and of Rome,

Who still preserve your ruin'd country's name,
And on your altars guard the Phrygian flame;
And thou, bright Maid, who art to men deny'd;
Pallas, who dost thy sacred pledge confide
To Rome, and in her inmost temple hide;
Hear, and auspicious to my vows incline,
To me, the greatest of the Julian line:
Prosper my future ways; and lo! I vow
Your antient state and honours to bestow;
Ausonian hands shall Phrygian walls restore,
And Rome repay, what Troy conferr'd before.
He said, and hasted to his fleet away,
Swift to repair the loss of this delay.

CHAPTER XXVII.

EXTRACTS FROM PLINY THE ELDER.

PLINY the Elder, who lived under Vespasian, has given an abstract of the geography of the Tröia and Chersonesus; which, under the following Emperor, was abridged and rendered yet more jejune by Julius Solinus. After remarking, that of certain rivers, which descended from Mount Idà and are named in Homer, there were then no vestiges, he adds[1], "There is, however, even now, a small Scamandrian people, and—an

[1] L. 5, c. 33.

Ilium, a free city, whence all their renown." But this once famous place seems to have become now neglected and forlorn. The Emperor Vespasian crossed the Hellespont to Abydos; and I find no mention of his having, though so near, vouchsafed to visit it.

"The oaks on the tomb of Ilus near the city of the Iliensians, it is Pliny who relates this, are said to have been then sown when it began to be called Ilium." Theophrastus, whom we have before cited as mentioning these trees, calls them beeches [1], a species of the oak [2]; and has alluded to the tradition of their antiquity. The reader here will observe, that they were not reputed to be co-æval with Troy, but with the barrow, the Ilion; a Latin termination being substituted in Pliny for the Greek, as in various other names of places, in which it is not liable, as in the instance before us, to mislead. Trees of so long standing might not unaptly be described by a poet as having their root weary [3]. No notice is taken of this barrow after Pliny.

Several of the places, which we have mentioned in the Tröia, were become extinct. "There has been, says Pliny, Achilléum, a town near the tomb of Achilles built by the Mitylenéans, and afterwards by the Athenians, where his fleet had stood by Sigéum. There has been Æantium too, built by the Rhodians at the corner [*of the bay*], Ajax being there buried—and there having been the station of his fleet." Palæscepsis, Gergithos, Neandros,

[1] L. IV. c. 14. [2] L. IV. c. 9, 10.

[3] Lucan, l. IX. v. 968. Perhaps for *robore* we should read *robora*, *Oaks*, v. 966.

and

and Colone had perished. Dardanus was still a small town. There *had been* a Larissa and a Chrysa. The Sminthéan temple and Hamaxitus remained. He mentions Troas Alexandria, a Roman colony; but this city too was on the decline; as, in another place [1], he says, "Very many mice come forth at Troas, insomuch that now they have driven the inhabitants away from thence." The folly of the devotees of Apollo Smintheus, who held this noxious little quadruped in veneration; and the plenty of salt near Lectos, if the females became, as Pliny tells us they were thought to do, pregnant on tasting that mineral, will sufficiently account for the multitudes, which, from prevailing about Chrysa, finally overran the adjacent country.

I shall take another opportunity to consider the brief account of the Hellespontic coast of the Chersonesus of Thrace given by this author; but one article may be noticed here. "There are, over-against the city of the Iliensians, near the Hellespont, on the sepulchre of Protesilaus, trees, which, from early ages, after growing so high as to behold Ilium, wither and shoot up again [2]." The author, it has been observed on this passage, does not say that the trees on the barrow died entirely, but only their tops; an incident common to all, especially large, trees; which, getting old, begin to decay above, and last a considerable time with their branches there dry and naked of leaves.

After Pliny we have but scanty materials for continuing our subject.

[1] L. x. § 85.

[2] L. 16. §. 88.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXVIII.

I. *Notices from Di Chrysostom.*—II. *Lucian.*—III. *Pausanias.*—IV. *Ælian.*—V. *Maximus Tyrius.*—VI. *Flavius Philostratus.*

I. DIO Chrysostom maintained, under Trajan, that Troy was not taken by the Greeks, but that they were vanquished; also, as Mr. Bryant has lately done, that the story of the siege was a mere fable. He did not spare, he reprobated, the whole of the divine poetry of Homer. But he was not serious, and his declamation [1], addressed to the Iliéans, is regarded only as a *jeu d'esprit*; the author having, it has been remarked, contradicted his own arguments, and, in some other of his Orations [2], bestowed the highest encomiums on the poet.

II. Lucian, in one of his Dialogues introduces Charon as visiting this upper region in company with Mercury; who, on his quoting Homer, undertakes to show him the barrow of Achilles. "There, says he, you see it by the sea. That is the Sigéum. But Ajax has been buried opposite to him by the Rhœtéum [3]." Charon, not finding the barrows such as from the renown of the heroes he had been led to expect, remarks, "they are not large;" and desires to be shown certain illustrious cities, about which they heard a great deal below, and especially Ilium; for he remembered to have ferried many over from thence, so as neither to have drawn ashore or thoroughly dried his wherry for ten

[1] Orat. xi.

[2] See Fabretti ad Tabellam Iliadis, p. 379.

[3] Χαρων, c. 23.

whole

whole years. Mercury answers, that he is ashamed to show them, and, above all, Ilium. *Nevertheless*, adds he, *they once were prosperous; but now they too have perished; for, Charon, Cities die as well as men.* Disappointed at what he saw, Charon exclaims, "Fie, Homer, on your lofty encomiums, and the epithets *sacred* and *spatious*, which you have bestowed on Ilium!"—In another Dialogue [1], Momus conversing with Jupiter, observes, that at Ilium the people sacrificed to Hector; and, in the opposite Chersonesus, to Protesilaus.

III. Pausanias lived under the Emperor Hadrian, who was a great traveller, but was not likely to bestow much attention on Ilium; since he was an enemy to Homer, and endeavoured to suppress his poems, and to substitute those of an obscure writer [2] in their room. He mentions his having heard what was said by the Æolians, who re-peopled Ilium, about the contention for the armour of Achilles, and how his shield, on the shipwreck of Ulysses, had been carried forth by the sea opposite the barrow of Ajax Telamon [3]; also, his having been told by a Mysian, that the waves had washed away the side of the monument next the sea, and made it not difficult to enter; and that he might infer the size of the skeleton from that of the knee-pans, which were as big as the quoit thrown by boys in the pentathlum [4]. The latter story implies, what Pliny and Lucian, in two passages, which have been cited, may be construed to signify, that the body of Ajax was not burned, but buried. The altar of Eury-

[1] Θεων Εκκλησια. [2] Antimachus.

[3] P. 24. Καὶ τον ταφον τον Αιαντος τα ὀπλα εξενεχθηναι. [4] P. 34.

 saces

saces was still to be seen at Athens; and the honours which had been decreed to him and his father Ajax Telamon were continued in the time of this author.

IV. Ælian [1], who repeats the story of the Cretan wanderers and their petty assailants, tells us, it was said by the people of Hamaxitus, that the word Smintheus was still in use among the Æolians and Trojans; that it signified *a mouse*; that these animals were bred tame for the Sminthians, and maintained at the public expense; that white ones had holes beneath the altar of their Apollo, and a mouse had stood by his triped.

V. We are told by Maximus Tyrius [2], under the Emperor Antoninus Pius, that the person was pronounced fortunate, who, sailing from Europe, had been able to contemplate on the spot certain objects of curiosity, which he enumerates; and among them are the barrows at Ilium and the places on the Hellespont; also he relates [3], that the abode of Achilles was in his *Sacred island* [4]; and, besides other extraordinary incidents, that he was both seen and heard there by mariners; but that Hector, as the Ilieans affirmed, remained in his own country, and *appeared*, leaping up in the plain, with lightning. By his own account he had beheld visions as incredible, though he had never seen either Achilles or Hector.

VI. We come now to Flavius Philostratus, a Sophist, the author of a Life of a famous wandering impostor, Apollonius of Tyana; and of a Dialogue entitled *Heroics*; the former compiled,

[1] Var. Hist. l. 12. c. 7.
[2] Dissert. XVI.
[3] Ibid. XV.
[4] Leuce.

it

it is supposed, about the year after Christ two hundred and ten, from materials furnished by the Empress Julia wife of Septimius Severus, and at her desire; the latter a legendary account of the renowned personages concerned in the Trojan war, interspersed with historical and local anecdotes. He has recorded in another work, his Lives of the Sophists [1], the following remarkable instance of private munificence superadded to imperial bounty. The great Athenian Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, who presided over the free cities of Asia, seeing Troas, (so Alexandréa is commonly called under the Romans,) destitute of commodious baths and of water, except such as was procured from muddy wells or reservoirs made to receive rain, wrote to the Emperor Hadrian, requesting him not to suffer an antient and maritime city to be destroyed by drought, but to bestow on it three hundred myriads of drachms for water; especially as he had given far greater sums even to villages. The Emperor readily complied with his desire, appointed him the overseer; and he expended on the undertaking more than seven hundred myriads [2]. It being represented as a grievance, that the tribute from five hundred cities had been lavished on one in an aquæduct, and Hadrian blaming the management of Herodes to his father Julius Atticus, he beseeched him not to be displeased, for that, the estimate having fallen short, he had made up the deficiency by a donation to his son, who had presented it to the city.—The life of Apollonius and the *Heroics* will each afford us matter for a distinct Chapter.

[1] P. 547.

[2] Five hundred myriads amount to 161,458*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* *English.*

CHAPTER XXIX.

APOLLONIUS OF TYANA.

I. *Passes the night at the barrow of Achilles.*—II. *Discovers the barrow and image of Palamedes.*—III. *His interview with Achilles.*

I. APOLLONIUS arrived, as the writer of his Life relates [1], when Nero was Emperor, in the country of Ilium; and, after talking much about the Heroes, went, replete with archæology, to visit the monuments of the Greeks there; at which he made many offerings of things without blood, he being a Pythagorean.

On his bidding his companions, in the evening, to go to their boat, while he passed the night alone at the barrow of Achilles, they endeavoured to dissuade him; affirming that the hero still appeared, and was dreadful to behold; and that this was the common belief of the people of Ilium. He replied, that the Trojans indeed saw Achilles armed with his shield, and with the crest of his helmet nodding terribly; but that he, who was no way connected with Ilium, hoped to find him gentle and to hold agreeable converse with him.

[1] L. iv. c. III. IV. V.

On

On his return at the dawn of day, he enquired for a youth of Paros, who was one of his followers; and asked him, if he was not somehow connected by relationship with Troy. On his answering that he was remotely a Trojan, and of the family of Priam, Apollonius declared that he was required by Achilles to dismiss him for that very reason, and because he was continually extolling Hector.

II. The wind, when it was day and they were about to depart, blowing from the land, a number of persons, it being now autumn and the sea not free from danger, crouded to the shore, desirous of sailing with Apollonius as their safe-guard; and he, seeing a larger boat, for there were many by Æantéum, embarked with them in it; and, having passed the Cape of the Troas [1], bade the man at the helm to steer for Æolia; saying, that Achilles had revealed to him the place where he should find the barrow and image of the hero Palamedes. This was a Greek warrior of great renown for extraordinary talents and for curious and useful inventions, who was said to have fallen a victim to the intrigues and jealousy of Ulysses prior to the commencement of the Ilias.

On the near approach of the boat to the shore, they all leaped eagerly out of it; but Apollonius first discovered the monument, which was on the confines of the Æolis and Troas, where, our author tells us, the funeral of Palamedes had been solemnized by

[1] Lectos.

Ajax

Ajax Telamon and Achilles. He set up again the image, which was buried in the ground, and, after bestowing other marks of attention on the spot and praying to the hero, departed. His biographer, who declares that he had seen the statue, and that the people of the circumjacent country continued to assemble there in honour of Palamedes, gives particular directions [1] for finding the place; where a barrow, and some remains of the very antient edifice, which he describes as near it, may probably be still visible; though the story of Palamedes is reprobated as a post-Homeric fiction in Strabo [2].

III. Apollonius, proceeding on his voyage toward Eubœa, the water being smooth and the weather fair, was requested, we are told, by the company in the boat to give them an account of his interview with Achilles; when he related, that on his addressing and requiring him to *appear*, the barrow quaked, and the hero rose out of it; a young man, five cubits high, wearing a Thessalian mantle, his beauty beyond all description; that, as he gazed on him, his statue increased to twelve cubits, and he became larger and handsomer in proportion; that, speaking, he declared his satisfaction at their meeting; that he had long wanted such a person; that——but the business of the Ghost with Apollonius requires some previous explanation.

The Oracle at Dodona, if, as Philostratus relates [3], it enjoined the performance of certain solemn rites by the Thessalians at the

[1] C. IV. Heroics, p. 691. [2] P. 368. [3] Heroics, p. 717.

barrow

barrow of Achilles, was, at the time, under the influence of his son Pyrrhus; who, it has been already mentioned, settled, after his return from Troy, a colony in Epirus; or under that of some of the Pyrrhidæ his descendants; for Supreme Father Jupiter, as well as his son Apollo, was subject to the controul of earthly potentates, and often advanced the worldly interest and reputation of his temple or rather of his priests, by receiving their directions, and answering according to their pleasure.

It was usual for the embassy, sent to the Troas, on this errand, to go on board a vessel, which, on its departure from Thessaly hoisted black sails. The fourteen Theori or Ministers, of which it consisted, took with them a black and a white bull; wood from Mount Pelion; fire; liquors for libations; water of the river Sperchius; and, to decorate the barrow of Achilles, garlands or crowns of amaranth, which, if the voyage proved long, still preserved their beauty uninjured by the sun or wind. It behoved them to arrive in the night; and, before their landing, to sing an hymn to Thetis, which has been thus translated by the late Mr. Merrick:

Peleus Thetis, blue-eyed fair,
Thy womb the great Achilles bare!
Of whom what mortal nature gave
In Ilion's confines found a grave:
But what from thee of heavenly strain
He drew, beneath the hoary main

Resides.

Resides [1]. Rise thence, O Goddess, rise;
To this high hill with streaming eyes
Achilles on the sacred pyre
Extended bring, and, while the fire
The victims feed, our sorrows share,
Peléan Thetis, blue-ey'd Fair.

This done, the company approached the barrow, each person rattling with a spear on a shield; and, after howling in concert, ran with measured paces round it, and invoked Achilles. They then crowned the top with flowers, and, digging trenches to receive the blood, sacrificed at it the black bull to Achilles, as defunct; inviting Patroclus to partake with him. These rites and the offerings ended, they went down to their vessel, where they sacrificed the white bull to Achilles as a God. They embarked again about day-break, with the carcase; to avoid feasting on an hostile shore.

This, according to my author, antient and solemn institution had ceased on the extinction of the line of the Æacidæ in Thessaly; where the people had been so much offended at the behaviour of Achilles in the battle of Salamis [2], when they had sided with the Persians, that they gradually withdrew all respect from him. But Alexander the Great having claimed a connection with their nation through the Æacidæ [3], having enslaved the rest of Thessaly but given back Phthia to Achilles, and having in the

[1] *Or*, Survives. *MS.* [2] See p. 49. [3] Justin, l. XI. 3.

Tröia

Tröia made him the companion of his war with the Persians, the Thessalians turned again to Achilles; their cavalry, all that Alexander had brought from Thessaly, went in parade round about his barrow, where they exhibited a mock engagement; prayed and sacrificed to him; and besought him, with Balius and Xanthus his steeds, to go against Darius, calling aloud from their horses. Afterwards, when Darius was taken prisoner and Alexander was in India, the Thessalians jointly sent offerings, with a black lamb, to Achilles; but, their messengers landing and going away in the day-time, and neglecting to observe the antient ritual, he had destroyed their harvests and punished them with various calamities; though it should seem to little purpose; for—but we now return to the narrative of Apollonius.

Achilles, as he relates, told him that the Thessalians had for many years withheld their accustomed offerings; that they would perish, if he deigned to be angry with them, faster than the Greeks had done before Troy; that he wished to admonish them to atone for their injurious treatment of him; that even the Trojans, of whom he had destroyed such numbers, endeavoured to make him their friend, by public sacrifices, by presents of first fruits, and by supplication; but in vain, for he continued as much their enemy, as if the city had been taken only the day before; that he was unwilling to be a foe to Greeks, and therefore appointed him to go as his Ambassador to the Thessalians, and to make remonstrances in his behalf.—The sequel of the story is, that Apollonius delivered his message at the Amphictyonic Con-

gress, that the Thessalians resolved to amend their behaviour in future, and that a Decree was passed in favour of the Ghost and barrow of Achilles.

Apollonius further declared, that Achilles had permitted him to ask, and had answered, five questions. I shall notice only one of them, to which I shall endeavour to furnish a clew; "Whether the Poets had falsified concerning his Tomb?" The ashes of Patroclus, after the burning of his body, were reserved, it appears from the Ilias, to be placed in one vase and under the same barrow with those of Achilles. It is but reasonable to conclude, that Homer, who has recorded what Achilles enjoined, knew or believed that he had been obeyed, and that the two friends had but one barrow. This is asserted by other writers, and in the Episode of the Odyssey[1] rejected as an interpolation by Aristarchus, in which Thetis, the Nereids, and Muses are introduced sorrowing over the corpse of Achilles. But the Greek poet[2] who has rehearsed their ditties has omitted to join the relics of Patroclus in sepulture with those of Achilles; and Strabo, in a passage, which will be considered hereafter, may be understood to countenance an opinion, that they had distinct barrows; as may also Ælian[3], who speaking of the two heroes mentions that *of the one and of the other.* Achilles replies to Apollonius, that, in the article referred to, an early agreement had subsisted between him and Patroclus; that a golden amphora

[1] L. 24.

[2] Sequel of the Ilias, l. 3.

[3] Var. Hist.

did

did indeed, as the Poets had affirmed, contain their ashes; that the Muses did not lament over him, nor had been present at his funeral; but that the Nereids still frequented the spot. A dispute on the subject may have given rise to the question, which cannot well be supposed to have been framed without some motive; Achilles is made a party in it by Philostratus, and answers as he would have him. The conference ended with his setting an example to modern Ghosts, by vanishing on hearing the cocks crow; but in a flash of mild lightning.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE HEROICS OF PHILOSTRATUS.

I. *Of the Vineyard, Barrow, Temple and Image of Protesilaus.*—II. *The Vine-dresser.*—III. *Of the island Leuce, and the barrow of Achilles and Patroclus.*—IV. *Stories of the plain of Ilium.*—V. *Of Hector.*—VI. *Of Ajax Telamon.*—VII. *Plutarch cited.*

I. THE scene of this Dialogue is on the sea-coast near Eleûs, opposite Ilium, by the barrow of Protesilaus, in a vineyard, which is extolled as a spot uncommonly beautiful and fertile, the stocks aptly disposed, the walks grateful, the trees tall, the rills of water various, the odour ambrosial, and the harmony of night-

ingales in the morning and evening enchanting. No wolf dared to enter it, no scorpion or venomous spider, nor even an informer. It was a place all over delicious and divine, worthy of its guardian Protesilaus.

The barrow is described as large, and as shaded with elms, which, we are told, were planted by the Nymphs; who, it was surmised, had directed, that the boughs toward Ilium should flourish soon, presently shed their leaves, and, like the mortal part of Protesilaus, perish early; while those on the other side remained alive and healthy. It was observed, if we may credit the relation, that only the trees about the barrow were thus affected; those in a garden near it thriving in all their branches.

By the barrow, it is said, were remaining a few specimens of the architectural ornaments of the temple; that, which had been insulted by the Persian Governor of Sestos, in the time of Xerxes; and which, from its basement, appeared to have been no inconsiderable structure. The hero had been represented standing on the prow of his vessel, as ready to leap on the shore; but the image was thrown down, and much disfigured by time and by devotees, who had bedaubed it with ointment and fixed their petitions on it.

II. The fictitious owner, the Vine-dresser, who is the principal speaker, courteously invites a stranger, a Phœnician merchant, to enter in; as one liberal of his grapes, figs, almonds, and pomgranates. He tells him, that he had been left an orphan, and that his estate had been taken from him, but was restored; the spectre of Protesilaus appearing to the usurper

of

of his property, and striking him blind; that he had lived in the city, where he studied philosophy, leaving his farm to the management of servants; that, losing by them, he had come to consult the hero, who was angry at his neglect, and, for some time, silent; but, on his continuing to supplicate, and to declare that he was undone without his assistance, he directed him to change his garb; that, on discovering his meaning, he had fitted himself with a leathern jacket, and, carrying about a two-forked prong, had commenced Vine-dresser; and, forsaking the town, had prospered by agriculture; advising with Protesilaus as his physician, whenever a tree, a lamb, or his bees ailed any thing: and attending on him as his priest; in the evening, pouring to him a libation of wine made from Thasian stocks, which had been set by him; and, at noon-tide, placing before him fruits, with milk at certain seasons; when, on his retiring, the whole was consumed in an instant. Whatever he did was *with his good Protesilaus;* with whom he pretends to familiarity. He retails their conversation; describes his person, his features, and his dress, which was a purple mantle or cloke fastened in the Thessalian fashion, as on the image, which resembled him; expresses the most ardent affection for this battered relic; shows the foot-steps of Protesilaus; with whose company he was favoured, when he wanted flowers for crowns, of which he was fond, or to plant, or to gather grapes; his abode being in Hades with Laodamia his wife, or at Phthia in Thessaly, where he had a temple and was worshipped; affirms, that at times he hunted with his

fellow

fellow soldiers, the warriors, who were still seen shaking their crests on the plain of Troy; and that, coming from the chace of the wild boar or stag about noon, he would sleep extended in the vineyard. He specifies the gymnastic exercises preferred by him; asserts that he had once been oracular; and recounts answers, which he had given to wrestlers who had consulted him; with their success in the Olympic and Pythian Games. He relates, that the hero still cured coughs and dropsies, sore eyes, and quartern agues; and that he was compassionate to the slighted lover, suggesting potent incantations and soft arts of persuasion; but when a man and a woman who had conspired against her husband were standing by his altar, and swearing falsely, he had excited the dog to interrupt and bite them; which he did in so terrible a manner that they both died. This animal is described as not fierce in general, but mild and gentle, like his old bearded master; who, after gratifying the curiosity of his guest, dismisses him with a present of fruits to his vessel, which lay wind-bound at Eleûs; bidding him, when he sailed, to make, as was the custom there, a libation to Protesilaus.

III. The Vine-dresser recites, on the authority of Protesilaus or of persons who had arrived in the port of Eleûs, the wonders of the Holy Island, Leuce, the abode of Achilles; with an address to Echo, containing an elogium on Homer, then recently composed by the hero; who is a musician in the Ilias and was now become a poet. He relates, that the temple, in which his statue was, had been enriched with numerous offerings, some having inscription

scriptions in the Greek and Roman languages; and that it was usual for mariners who touched at the island to sacrifice on his altar at sun-set, and to pass the night, making fast their vessel, if the wind did not rise and enable them to pursue their voyage. But enough of Leuce. I hasten to introduce the Vine-dresser as it were pointing to the opposite coast, and saying, "This hill, Stranger, which you see standing on the front of the shore, the assembled Greeks raised when Achilles was mingled in the barrow with Patroclus, having bestowed on himself and on him a most beautiful funeral envelope; on which account they who praise friendship celebrate him." Further he adds, that the Greeks heaped up gold and the booty they had acquired, to be consumed with his body; repeated their presents to him, when Neoptolemus came to the camp; and, before they set sail from Troy, took leave of the barrow and Achilles [1].

IV. Of the plain there the Vine-dresser relates, that the unembodied heroes were still beheld in it by herdsmen and shepherds, who deemed the spectres ominous; portending drought, if covered with dust; floods and rain, if with sweat; and, if blood appeared on them or their weapons, they sent diseases on Ilium; but they were supposed, if seen without these tokens, to bring kindly seasons; and the hinds, from gratitude, then offered to them a lamb, or bull, a fowl, or any thing they had. The Ghosts were not all known, for they were many; differing

[1] Περιπιπλον τω ταφω, και τον Αχιλλια φονλο περιβαλλειν, p. 715.

in

in age, and mien, and habiliments. Achilles, and the same account was given at Ilium of other heroes, both talked with some persons, and went with them, and hunted the wild beasts. They conjectured that it was he, from the beauty of his form, and from his magnitude, and from the effulgence of his armour. Behind him rolled a whirlwind, the companion of his apparition. "My voice, says the Vine-dresser, would fail me in recounting stories of this kind; for they sing too something about Antilochus, how an Iliéan girl, in going to the Scamander, met and became enamoured of his phantom; and how some young herdsmen playing with dibs near the altar of Achilles, one would have killed the other with a blow of his crook, had not Patroclus interposed; but these are matters known both from the herdsmen and from the people of Ilium; for we mix together, dwelling on the banks of the mouth of the Hellespont, and having, as you see, made the sea a river [1]."

V. For Hector, by whose spear Protesilaus was now said to have fallen, the Vine-dresser, it may be supposed, entertains no partiality. He relates, however, that his image, set up in a conspicuous place at Ilium, was remarkable for expression and beauty, seeming to breathe, and conveying to the beholder the idea of a demi-god or some more than human being; that it possessed a miraculous power, and conferred many benefits both on individuals and on the people; the reason why they offered up

[1] P. 659.

prayers

prayers and sacrificed to it at their Games; when it was observed to wax warm, and to be so agitated with emulation that sweat bedewed the body. The following is among the stories told by the Vine-dresser. A young Assyrian, who came to Ilium, upbraided Hector with the chariot of Achilles, which had dragged him by the heels; with the stone cast by Ajax, which had occasioned his fainting; and with his flying before Patroclus; asserting, moreover, that it was not he, who had killed this hero; and that the image called his at Ilium, having the head bare, was not his, but one of Achilles, who made an offering of his hair at the funeral pile of Patroclus. On his leaving Ilium, before he had got ten stadia [1], a brook so inconsiderable as to be without a name swelled on a sudden; and, as his attendants, who escaped, affirmed, a huge man in armour was seen preceding, and calling loudly on, the torrent to turn into the road where the blasphemer was driving four, not tall, horses; which, with his chariot, were carried away by its violence; and he perished, calling out and promising never to offend Hector again; nor could his body afterwards be found.

VI. Two strangers belonging to a vessel which had touched at Æantéum were amusing themselves *at pebbles* [2] by the barrow of Ajax; when the hero appeared, and, standing near, desired them to leave off; for they put him in mind of Palamedes, (the reputed inventor of that play) whom he had greatly esteemed, and who

[1] A mile and a quarter.

[2] Πεττοις, p. 656.

fell,

fell, as he had done, by the machinations of their common enemy Ulysses. The game, whatever it was, for the Hon. Daines Barrington [1] has shown it not to have been Chess, is characterised as no idle diversion, but as requiring an active mind and close attention.

Ajax, having in his delirium mistaken and slaughtered some sheep for Greeks, and a ram for Ulysses, the peasants of Ilium ascribed the diseases of their cattle to his malignant agency; and would not suffer their flocks to feed near his barrow at Æantéum, fearing the herbage as of a noxious quality [2].

Some Trojan shepherds abused the hero, standing round his barrow, and calling him their enemy and the foe of Hector and of Troy; telling him, that he had been, and that he continued, out of his senses; and that he was a coward; one of them citing an hemistic of Homer,

Αιας δ' αυτ' εμιμνε——
Ajax no longer staid—

but, not suffering them to proceed, he cried in a loud and terrible voice from beneath the barrow,

Αλλα εμιμνον——
But I did stay—

and, it was said, rattled with his spear on his shield, so that they were dismayed, and fell to the ground; stood shivering with ap-

[1] See Archæologia, v. IX. [2] P. 653.

prehension;

prehension; or ran away; when he spared their lives, as suited with his magnanimity, and was content with letting them know that he had heard them [1]. A Greek epigram on this subject is extant in the Anthologia.

Another story related by the Vine-dresser, who professes to have received it from his grandfather, is apparently founded on the tale of the Mysian in Pausanias; that the barrow of Ajax, having suffered from the sea, near which it stood, had disclosed the bones of a man eleven cubits in stature; and that the Emperor Hadrian, when he visited the Troas, embraced and kissed these relics, had them arranged, and repaired the monument. The body, he tells us, was interred; the prophet Chalchas having declared that to burn it was not allowable on account of his suicide [2]. But enough, if not too much, of the Heroics.

VII. It remains that we conclude this Chapter by citing Plutarch [3]; from whom we learn, that a plant grew in the Scamander, which, when one saw a phantom or a god, preserved him from fear, if he had it about him; a property which is likely to have produced a great demand for it in a country where visionary beings were believed so frequently to occur. It is described as resembling a species of Vetch [4]; and, from its bearing grains which could be shaken, was called Sistrus. The botanical traveller will not neglect to look for it in or by the bed of the river.

[1] P. 682.
[2] P. 640.
[3] Geographi Minores, v. 2. p. 26.
[4] Erebinthus.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE EMPEROR CARACALLA.

I. *He visits Ilium.*—II. *His extravagances there.*—III. *Of a statue of Achilles at Sigæum.*

I. THE writings of Philostratus seem to have affected and turned the head of the Emperor Caracalla son and husband of Julia. He was much addicted to the practice of arts then in vogue for raising Ghosts. He was terrified by frequent Visions, and repaired to Pergamum, hoping to obtain relief in his disorder from Æsculapius. From thence he proceeded to Ilium [1], where he viewed all the reliques of the city. He afterwards visited the barrow of Achilles, and adorned it sumptuously with crowns and garlands of flowers.

II. At Ilium, Caracalla was seized with a passion to imitate Achilles, as he had before done Alexander the Great in Macedonia. He wanted a Patroclus, whose funeral he might solemnize; when, during his stay there, Festus, his Remembrancer and favourite freedman, died; as some affirmed, of a distemper; but so opportunely, that others said he was taken off by poison for the purpose. Caracalla ordered, after the example of Achilles, a

[1] Herodian, l. 4. c. 8.

large

large pile of wood to be collected. The body was carried forth from the city, and placed on it, in the middle. He slew a variety of animals, as victims. He set fire to the pile; and, holding a phial in his hand and pouring a libation, as Achilles had done, invoked the winds to come and consume it. His seeking, for he was nearly bald, a lock of hair to throw into the flames created laughter; but the little which he had he cut off. He is said to have continued the farce, by allotting prizes for Games; and to have concluded it, by imagining that he had taken Troy, and distributing money among his soldiers on the occasion [1].

III. A statue of Achilles at Sigéum, standing on a column, is noticed by Tertullian [2], a learned father of the Christian Church, as representing him delicately attired, with one of his ears bored and a ring pendant at the bottom, after the manner of women; and Servius on Virgil [3] mentions, that it was said there had been a statue of him at Sigéum with this female ornament. Such a figure might correspond with the tale of his having been concealed as a girl at a boarding-school for young ladies; but was ill-suited to the character of the hero in the Ilias. It was probably the image set up by Caracalla [4] before his departure from Ilium, which was thus absurdly decorated.

[1] Dio fragment. Vales. p. 754. Wotton, Hist. of Rome, p. 317, 319.

[2] De pallio, n. 65. [3] Æneid, 1. [4] Wotton.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE EMPEROR GALIEN.

I. *The Tröia ravaged by the Goths.*—II. *The medals of Ilium.*

I. AFTER Caracalla is a gap in our story, which continues to the time of Galien; when the Roman Empire was harassed by irruptions of the Goths[1]. One body of these barbarians, crossing the Strait of the Hellespont, carried desolation into the province of Asia Minor. They set fire to the temple of Diana at Ephesus, and returned to afflict Thrace, loaded with plunder and laying waste on their journey "Troy and Ilium, which, after scarcely time to take breath a little from the Agamemnonian war, are again destroyed by the sword of the enemy." So says Jornandes[2], no adept, it should seem, in antient chronology. His Troy was probably Troas. Another body, which passed down the Hellespont and sacked Athens, ravaged in their way back "the shores of Troy; whose fame, says Mr. Gibbon, immortalised by Homer, will probably survive the memory of their conquests." No! both are alike consigned to the lasting page of History.

[1] Procopius Bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 15. Trebellius Pollio, p. 719. Hist. Aug. Scriptores.

[2] De rebus Gothicis, c. xx.

II. The

II. The right or privilege of coining had been continued to the Iliéans under the Romans. Their medals, of which the number from distinct dies is not great, represent their Palladium, the River-god Scamander, Ganymedes, Laocoon, or, perhaps with reference to the descent of the Iulian family, Æneas making his escape from Troy with his father Anchises and his son. On the reverse is chiefly exhibited the champion of Troy drawn in a chariot by two, or, as he is described in the Ilias, by four horses; provoking, as it were, the Greeks to combat; with the legend, *Hector of the Iliéans* [1]. One, exceedingly rare, struck under the Emperor Macrinus, has Hector with another warrior endeavouring to drag away the naked body of Patroclus, and Ajax interposing to rescue it [2]. The specimens remaining in the cabinets of the curious descend to Commodus, Severus, and Geta, if not lower; that is, nearly to the æra when the practice ceased or was forbidden among the cities of the empire; of whose coinage few, if any, examples are said to occur after Galien. We have nothing to add until we come to the Emperor Constantine.

[1] ЕКТОР ІАІЄѲN.

[2] Muſeum C. Albani, v. 2. pl. 59. p. 119.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

I. *A sea-fight in the Hellespont.*—II. *His design to build New Rome in the Tröia.*—III. *Account given of it by Sozomenus.*—IV. *By Zozimus and Zonaras.*—V. *Its improbability.*

1. IN the war between the two Emperors Constantine called afterwards the Great and Licinnius, Crispus, the son of the former and his admiral, selected, on his arrival at the mouth of the Hellespont, eighty of his vessels; with which, that narrow sea not suiting a larger number, he resolved to engage the enemy; whose fleet, consisting of two hundred vessels, advanced to meet him, thinking to surround him without difficulty; but was soon thrown into confusion; and, night approaching, put into the Æantian port *(that of Æantium)*, as Crispus did into that of Eleûs; but, on the following day, came forth again with a strong north wind [1]. The commander then found that Crispus had been joined by the remainder of his ships, and hesitated about renewing the battle. Meanwhile, toward noon, the north wind subsiding, a strong south wind [2] prevailed, and forced his ships on the shore of Asia,

[1] Boreas. [2] Notus.

which

which was not distant; when some were driven on rocks, and others sunk; so that five thousand men perished, and only four vessels, with the Admiral, escaped [1].

II. That Julius or Augustus Cæsar, the imaginary descendants of Æneas, full of the prophesy which entailed universal dominion in perpetuity on their family, should conceive a project to forward more fully its literal accomplishment by returning to the country from which their great ancestor was said to have migrated, and removing the seat of empire to Ilium or Troy, is less surprising, than that Constantine should adopt nearly their plan, and have resolved on building *New Rome* in the Troas, without similar motives and prejudices; if he was not influenced by the consideration that on this coast was obtained the great naval victory, which had secured the supreme power to him without a partner or competitor.

III. The best authority for the above fact, which is mentioned by several of the Byzantine writers, is, if I mistake not, that of Hermias Sozomenus; who composed an Ecclesiastical History about half a century after the name of Byzantium had been changed into that of Constantinople. He relates as follows: The emperor "having taken possession of the plain which lies before Ilium near the Hellespont, beyond the tomb of Ajax, where the Greeks, at the time when they were engaged in the expedition against Troy, are said to have had a station for their ships and

[1] Zosimus, c. 24.

tents, he there traced the outline and ground-plot of a city; and he constructed gates in a conspicuous place; which still at this day are seen at sea by those who sail along the coast. While he was employed on this undertaking, God appeared to him by night, and warned him to go in quest of another place[1]," conducted him to Byzantium, and admonished him to erect his city there and to call it by his own name.

IV. Zosimus, who lived under Theodosius the younger, relates, that, "when the Emperor came to the Troas, and to that old place Ilium, a site being found fit for building a city, he laid the foundations, and carried some part of the wall on high; which, he says, is still to be seen in sailing toward the Hellespont; but, because he grew dissatisfied with the work which he had begun, he removed, leaving it imperfect, as it was, to Byzantium." According to Zonaras, the undertaking was recommended by an Oracle, and the promontory Sigéum was one of the places selected for the purpose, and there he was said to have laid the foundations of his new city.

V. It may be doubted whether Sozomenus, the historian first quoted, knew where the Greeks did encamp, or was acquainted with the Hellespont or the barrow of Ajax, or the plain before Ilium. Zosimus, who relates the tale after him with some variation, and Zonaras, are not to be depended on. Both were ignorant, Zonaras grossly so. Some later writers have recorded the

[1] L. ii. cited and translated by Mr. Dalzell. Note on M. Chevalier, p. 49.

same

same transaction without increasing its probability; and I give equal credit to the story of the commenced foundation and of the heavenly vision, which prevented its progress. No sagacity was then requisite to foresee or foretell of a city about to be placed on the bay before Ilium, that it must soon be destitute of a port; and the emperor would have been as foolish in chusing such a site, as blind in neglecting the superior advantages of that of Byzantium. It was believed by the people of Constantinople that he caused the Palladium to be transported from Rome, and buried it in the market-place of that city.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN.

I. *Of the Tröia and Chersonesus.*—II. *Privileges of the Iliéans.*—III. *Of Minerva of Ilium.*

I. AMMIANUS Marcellinus [s], an author contemporary with Julian, makes mention of Ilium, "famous for the fall of heroes;" of the tombs of Achilles and Ajax; of the towns Dardanus and Abydos; of Sestos on the opposite side of the Hellespont, and of Cynossema, "where Hecuba is believed to be buried;" of Troas; and of the temple of Apollo Smintheus.

[s] Ilium heroicis casibus olarum, p. 307.

The Ilićans, if, under Julian, they had ceased to solicit or to obtain new favours from the Romans, were still distinguished by the enjoyment of those already conferred on them, some of which were uncommon in quality or extent. In the *Digests*, or Books of Civil Law, which were compiled by this emperor, Callistratus [1] is cited as saying, "To the Iliensians, both on account of the famous nobility of the people and of their connection with the origin of the Romans, now of old time, both by decrees of the Senate and by constitutions of the Emperors, is granted the most ample immunity, so that they may claim exemption even from wardship, to wit, of those orphans, who are not Iliensians; and that by a rescript of the god Pius," meaning Antoninus. "To the Iliensians, says another famous lawyer, Ulpian, who was minister of Alexander Severus, it is granted, that he who is born of an Iliensian mother may be a denison;" an expedient, it should seem, devised to continue the race of townsmen and Trojans. The same privilege had been accorded and was preserved, probably for the like purpose, to the people of Delphi

Julian opened again the heathen temples which Constantine, when he declared Christianity to be the religion of the empire, had commanded to be shut. Whether Minerva of Ilium had been removed or deprived of her honours, we are not told; but Ulpian is cited in the *Digests* as saying, she "has been capable of inheriting, or a legacy might be left to her [2]."

[1] Digest. ad *Municip.* in lege 17, Tit. i. p. 284, and Strabo, Comment. p. 224.

[2] Digest. l. 50, Tit. 1. p. 1707.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXXV.

I. *Of the progress of Christianity.*—II. *The condition of the country.*—III. *The Chersonesus fortified and Choirodocastron erected by Justinian.*—IV. *Approaching change in the Tröia.*

I. THE attachment of the Iliéans to their favourite goddess Minerva had begun in the most remote antiquity, and was rooted and confirmed by long usage and the experience of her supposed patronage and protection for many succeeding ages. Moreover, their general practice of idolatry, which is noticed, particularly their worship of Hector and Helen, by some early Christian writers[1], was inveterate. It was easier to regulate public worship than to controul private devotion. Imperial edicts might abolish the open homage which the Iliéans had been accustomed to pay to the greater deities, as well as to Scamander, Hector, the Grecian heroes, and the like, of inferior rank, without removing the prejudices of individuals. Paganism was no where eradicated, but by degrees; and it is uncertain how long a concealed respect and regard for objects of popular veneration, sanctified by antiquity and tradition, continued either in the Tröia or Chersonesus; but on the complete establishment of Christianity in the Roman empire we find Ilium the See of a bishop, which was probably endowed

[1] Clemens Romanus. Athenagoras.

dowed with the possessions of Minerva; whose temple, if not then a ruin, was converted, it is likely, into his cathedral. Sigéum, which seems to have recovered in some degree its consequence, was raised to the same dignity; and both churches were under the Metropolitan of Cyzicus. Troas had also a bishop. In the Chersonesus, a Metropolitan had his seat at Madytos[1].

II. History, after the abolition of heathenism, is long silent concerning the Tröia and Chersonesus. Several of their cities, become inconsiderable before, were abandoned, died, or lingered on in gradual decay, and with their end visibly approaching. Ilium and Dardanus are among the places, which, having attained to a good or rather an extraordinary old age, perished. Of Rhœtéum or of Æantéum I have met with no mention in any antient author, if we except Sozomenus, after Constantine the Great; in whose time the port of Æantéum was become the principal, if not sole, receptacle of shipping, on the coast beneath Ilium. Alexandréa is noticed as a deserted place, by the epitomizer[2] of Strabo; it is supposed between the years nine hundred seventy-six and nine hundred ninety six.

III. A new wall, with a fosse, was made across the isthmus of the Chersonesus by the Emperor Justinian; and, besides other precautions, which were rendered necessary by the repeated incursions and ravages of the Goths, the Huns, and Bulgarians, he erected strong castles near Elcûs and Sestos[3]. One of these for-

[1] D'Anville Acad. Insc. t. 28, p. 339.

[2] See M. Chevalier, p. 37. Note by Mr. Dalzell.

[3] Procopius, p. 36.

tresses,

tresses, on which was to depend the future fate of the Chersonesus, stood on the summit of a mountain rising exceedingly abrupt above the latter place, then neglected and defenceless; was named Choirodocastron; deemed utterly inaccessible to an enemy, and from its situation impregnable [1]. The fleet of Justinian under Belisarius had its station at Abydos, which was one of the few surviving cities; but of which no farther mention is made for above three centuries, except that it was besieged [2] between the years one thousand ninety-three and one thousand ninety-seven. I have only to add here what is related by a Byzantine historian [3], that an immense treasure collected by Theodore Lascares was reposited for security in a fortress, opposite formerly the Scamander, and called by the diminutive, Astytzium.

IV. Troy, it has been already mentioned, was taken about eleven hundred and eighty-four years before the Christian æra. The worship of the heroes lasted, if not longer, to the beginning of the third century after it. During this period, they, with the other warriors, were believed to haunt the plain where they fell; their monuments were approached with awe, and their names were familiar even to the herdsman and shepherd. A new race of people is now about to arrive in the Tröia, entirely strangers, ignorant of its antient renown, unacquainted with the names Ilium or Troy, Achilles or Ajax, Hector or Homer. These found the

[1] Procopius, l. iv. c. 10. The name may be translated *Hog-way-castle*.

[2] By Tzachas.

[3] Georg. Pachym. p. 39. ιν τῳ καλῳ καν Σκαμανδρῳ φρουρῳ τῳ ὑπο των Αστυζιν ὑπονοριζομενῳ.

cities,

cities, except Abydos, in ruins; and, if the Heroes were not quite forgotten, their barrows were neglected, and those by Sigéum and Rhœtéum again become such as they were left on the departure of the Greek army from before Troy, solitary objects by the sea-shore.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

INVASION OF THE TROIA AND CHERSONESUS BY THE TURKS.

I. *Abydos betrayed.*—II. *They surprize Choirodocastron.*

1. THE Turks, having extended their conquests in Asia to the shores of the Hellespont under Orchan, attacked Abydos. The Greek, who commanded there, made a brave defence, but was betrayed by his daughter. Enamoured with the person and valour of one of the assailants [1], whom she had beheld from the wall, she threw a letter over the battlements, promising, if, the army being first withdrawn, he would return at the head of a select party in the night, she would admit him into the town. The garrison, on the supposed departure of the enemy, indulged in festivity; and the governor was surprised in his bed [2]. Orchan came to Abydos; and the Hellespont did not long continue the boundary of the Turkish Empire.

[1] Abdurachman. [2] Sandys's Travels, p. 20.

II. It

II. It is related in the annals of this people [1], that Soliman, son of Orchan, taking an airing on horseback in the country lately conquered, came to some fine ruins of edifices, which had remained there from the time of the destruction of Troy, and which he beheld with wonder; I suppose to the reliques of Alexandréa Troas, or rather of Ilium. After viewing this desolate city, he was observed to remain musing and silent. On being asked the reason, he answered, that he was considering how the sea between them and the opposite coast could be crossed without the knowlege of the Christians. Two of his retinue offered to pass over privately at the Strait, which is described as a Greek mile wide. A float was provided, they landed before day-break, and laid concealed among vines, until, a Greek coming by, they seized and returned with him to the Emperor; who gave orders that their captive should be kindly treated, and, on his undertaking to serve as a guide to the castle erected by Justinian above Sestos [2], caused trees to be cut down, and a large raft to be constructed; on which, with about fourscore men, Soliman crossed the Strait; and arriving, under colour of the night, at the fortress, found, without the entrance, such was the supine negligence and security of the Greeks, a dung-hill as high as the wall. His soldiers mounted over it, and easily got possession of the place; the people, a few excepted, being engaged abroad in harvest-work. Thus did the Turks obtain their first footing in Europe,

[1] Leuenclavius, p. 314. [2] Choirodòcastron, called by the Turks, Zemenic-hissar.

in 1357. The levity and folly of the Greeks was apparent in their jesting on the loss of this strong-hold, and proving, by quibbling on the name, that the Turks had only taken from them a Hog-stie. But the taking of this Hog-stie soon led to that of Madytos, which was a populous place, of Callipolis, and of a large portion of Europe, besides the Chersonesus.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

OF THE STRAIT OF THE HELLESPONT.

I. *Importance of its command under Mahomet the first.*—II. *Under Amurath the second.*—III. *Under Mahomet the second.*

I. WHILE the Greeks yet continued in possession of their capital, and the Turks were employed in enlarging and settling their dominions in Europe and Asia, the command of the passage of the Strait of the Hellespont was an object of great importance both to the Infidels and Christians.

Mahomet the first, when at war with his brother Musa, who held the portion of the Turkiſh Empire in Europe to which the Chersonesus of Thrace, with Callipolis, belonged, not being able to cross the Hellespont to invade him from Asia, was repeatedly compelled to covenant with the Greek Emperor Emmanuel for the

the transportation of his army, to and fro, at the Strait of the Bosphorus above Constantinople; where he obtained permission afterwards [1] to erect a fortress on the side of Asia with a small town in it [2].

II. Amurath the second, advancing from Magnesia by Mount Sipylus to assist his son Mahomet the second, who resided at Adrianople in Europe and was attacked by the king of the Hungarians, found, on his arrival at the Hellespont, that the gallies of the Christian powers were stationed at Callipolis to prevent a junction of their armies. He was reduced almost to despair, and marched away to the Strait above Constantinople, and there effected a passage in skiffs; but the difficulty and danger which he had encountered made so forcible an impression on his mind that he bound himself by a solemn oath to secure in future the communication between the two continents by building a fortress in Europe opposite to that already provided by his father in Asia; but he did not live to execute his design.

III. Mahomet the second, returning from an expedition into Asia, found likewise, when he came to the Hellespont, the Strait there guarded by a Christian fleet, and was forced to pursue the same rout as Mahomet the first and Amurath had done; but, after passing at the Bosphorus, he commenced immediately preparations for the fatal work planned by his father; and, to insure expedition in the execution of it, attended its progress in person.

[1] In 1414.

[2] Ducas Hist. Byzant. p. 133. Knolles, History of the Turks.

The castle or town was begun on the twenty-sixth of March, 1452, and finished in a few months. He placed in one of the towers brass guns [1], which discharged stone-balls of above six hundred pounds in weight [2]. Meanwhile the Greek Emperor supplicated and remonstrated to no purpose. This fortress was much too near to Constantinople, which was besieged and taken in July, in the following year, 1453.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

I. *Of a letter from Mahomet the second to the Pope.*—II. *Of the Castles of the Strait of the Hellespont.*—III. *Of the Castles at the Mouth.*

I. MAHOMET the second was less ignorant and more silly than I should suppose, if indeed he wrote to Pope Pius the second, as he is said to have done; "I wonder that the Italians should bandy against me, seeing we have one common original from the Trojans, and that I have an interest, as well as they, to revenge the blood of Hector on the Greeks, whom they favour against me [3]."

[1] Χανας.

[2] Mahomet ordered that it should be called Basc-kesen, in Greek κεφαλοσπαστης, *Basc* caput. *kesen* scindens. Ducas, c. 34. His history was published in 1649. He was sent on an embassy by the princes of Lesbos to the Conqueror of Constantinople.

[3] Bayle in *Acarnania*. He cites Montagne's Essays.

II. It

II. It was this Emperor, who, after providing *Cut-throat* [1] castle on the Propontis, having felt the importance of the Strait of the Hellespont, constructed a small town in Asia toward Madytos, "where sailing in, says my Author [2], is the narrowest part of the Hellespont;" and another small town in Europe, opposite to that in Asia; for the security of Byzantium and the Euxine sea, and for the protection of the cities on the Hellespont, which supplied him with no inconsiderable navy. He placed in both these little towns about thirty cannon [3] of the largest size, with not a few others; and having made that on the Asiatic side a naval station [4], no vessel was permitted to proceed toward the Hellespont without stopping that all on board might appear before the Governor; precautions, which were taken, the historian [5] relates, on account of the war in which he was about to engage with the Venetians, the freedom of whose commerce was much impeded both by his barriers and ordinances. Abydos, abandoned or destroyed by the Turks lying desolate, as well as Sestos, those antient cities were succeeded in some degree of their importance, as in some of the advantages of their situation at the entrance of the Hellespont from the Propontis, by these castles; to which the name *Dardanelli*, since continued and in general use among the Europeans, is said to have been given by the Italian sailors then frequenting those seas.

[1] Δειμοκοπτης.
[2] Τραχεβολης.
[3] Chalcocondylas, Hist. l. x. p. 282.
[4] Chalcocondylas, Hist. l. VIII. p. 201.
[4] Ναυσταθμον.

III. In

III. In the war of Candia the Venetians got possession of Tenedos, but the city was retaken by the Turks, who bribed the Governor with a large sum of money [1]. Near this island the Turkish Armada was defeated in a famous sea-fight, in 1659. The then Emperor Mahomet the fourth, erected two castles at the entrance of the Hellespont from the Ægæan sea [2]; and these are commonly called *The New*, as the others are *The Old*, Castles of Romelia and Natolia, or of Europe and Asia.

CONCLUSION.

MANY of the antient names of the places within our limits had fallen into disuse or oblivion, were changed through superstition, or disguised by a corrupt pronuntiation, long before the arrival of the Turks, who have not contributed to their restoration or elucidation.

Neither a state of slavery nor a Turkish government is calculated to improve the population or promote the prosperity of a country. These districts are still, as in the decline of the Roman empire, thinly inhabited, and by a people groaning, especially the Greeks, under the misery of oppression.

If we reflect on the ravages formerly committed on the borders of the Hellespont, and on the destruction of the cities there, we shall not be surprised that the coasts are desolate, and that the in-

[1] Wheeler's Travels, p. 64.

[2] D'Anville, Acad. Insc. t. 28, p. 329.

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DOM PEDRO AT TROY.

Extract from a letter from Dr. Schliemann in The London Times under date of Dardanelles, Oct. 17.

Having been officially requested by the Turkish Government to hasten to the Hellespont, in order to accompany His Majesty Dom Pedro II. to the Troad, I left my excavations at Mycenæ on the 9th, and arrived here on Friday, the 13th inst. The Emperor arrived on Sunday, the 15th inst., at 6:30 a. m. by the Austrian steamer Aquila Imperiale, of which Capt. Tercig is the commander, in company with Her Majesty the Empress, the Comtesso de Barral, the Visconde de Bom Retiro, the Comte de Gobineau, now French Embassador at Stockholm, and Dr. Carl Henning, a young German scholar, whose occupation is to assist the Emperor in his scientific researches. The Empress not being able to stand the fatigue of long rides, she and the Comtesse de Barral descended here at the house of Mrs. Brun, where the Austrian Consul, Mr. N. Xanthopoulus, had prepared apartments for the exalted visitors. I had the honor of accompanying the Emperor and the rest of the party by the same steamer to Koumkalé, at the mouth of the Scamander, where horses stood ready for all of us. The Governor-General of the Archipelago had sent his first dragoman and political agent, N. Didymos, as well as a colonel and a captain, with eight gendarmes, to accompany His Majesty. In seeing at Koumkalé the very strong current of the Hellespont, His Majesty remarked that, were it not for this current, the alluvia of the Scamander would long since have shut up these Straits and united Europe to Asia by a new isthmus. Having left to our right the tumuli which the tradition of antiquity indicates as the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus, we forded the Scamander, which has at present but little water, it not having rained here for ten months, and went straight on to the village of Koum-koi, where I showed to His Majesty the ancient bed of the Scamander, now called Kalifatli-asmak, and the still very deep ancient bed of the Simois, now called Dumbrek-sou, which formerly flowed here by a right angle into the Scamander, whereas now, having been made to branch off into several channels to serve numerous watermills, it forms immense and always impassable swamps. At Hissarlik His Majesty examined my excavations with the very deepest interest, and delighted the company by his citations from the "Iliad," which he appears to know almost entirely by heart. All the indications which Homer gives for the topography of Ilium were present in his mind, and he found that on the whole the situation of Hissarlik agreed with them; but in his opinion, the two large springs, the sources of the Scamander, the one with hot, the other with cold water, at which Hector was killed by Achilles, were necessary to establish the identity. And these two springs of hot and cold water from which the Scamander originates exist not here, but at a distance of 60 miles, near the summit of Mount Ida, the Emperor was reluctant to give at once his decision as to the identity of Hissarlik with the Homeric Ilium. I am quite at a loss to say which astonished me more, the Emperor's deep learning or his really wonderful memory. With reference to the dispute as to the existence or what I call the Scæan Gate, I had no difficulty in showing to His Majesty that a passage to the north of the gate really exists, and that it is blocked up, not by a wall of stones, but by the rubbish which I had left *in situ* merely in order to prove that the large mansion to the north of the gate is overlaid by a posterior pre-historic palace, because I had been afraid that my statements would otherwise meet with incredulity. When afterward we came to the sacrificial altar, I showed to the Emperor the remnants of its pedestal of unburnt bricks, which had been destroyed by the Winter rains, the remnants of the large slab with which it was covered, and which had been broken by the villagers, as well as the large sacrificial stone, cut out in form of a crescent, which had been rent asunder by them, and lay now on the ground half buried in the rubbish. His Majesty was very indignant at the vandalism of the present Trojans.

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